

SEPTEMBER 25, 1978

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# TIME

TAX EXPENDITURES  
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Special Report

## After the Summit



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TEMPORARY SERVICES

## A Letter from the Publisher

Some TIME readers are sentimental and send us cards at Christmas. A few are even smitten enough to mail valentines to their favorite writers. But Donald Lehman, an associate professor of library science, recently set an epistolary precedent. Quite unsolicited, he mailed us his 156-page computer analysis of 2,814 TIME cover subjects from 1923 to 1977, a scholarly study chockablock with statistical tables and chronological comparisons.

Lehman, who teaches at the University of Puerto Rico, spent eight months on his project. His starting point was *Faces in the News*, a booklet published by TIME in 1976 that showed all the magazine's covers since House Speaker Joe Cannon's inaugurating appearance March 3, 1923. Lehman then tracked down biographical information on each of the subjects, fed them into computer memory banks and cross-referenced them to a fare-thee-well.

Among his discoveries: the woman who has appeared most on the covers is the Virgin Mary (10 times). The only First Ladies not to appear were Florence Harding and Bess Truman.



Nativity, 1938



Cover Buff Lehman



Nixon, 1952

Henry Kissinger was on 15 covers; Jesus Christ was right behind him with 14. The youngest cover subject was the baby Jesus; the oldest, Amos Alonzo Stagg, 96.

Nearly all early TIME covers featured a single human subject, but in recent years the magazine's editors, feeling a growing need to highlight issues as well, have picked more "topic" covers. Editorial perceptions of the importance of the presidency have also changed. Her-

bert Hoover appeared only four TIME covers, none of them during his one term as President. But in a 2½-year term, Gerald Ford appeared 19 times. The unchallenged winner of the cover sweepstakes: Richard Nixon, who appeared 53 times in a 23-year-span.

For TIME's editors, the Lehman study provided provocative reading and, as Managing Editor Ray Cave observed, a lifetime of winning bar bets (The first Man of the Year? Charles A. Lindbergh. Only basketball player? Oscar Robertson. First woman? Eleanor Duse).

His next: a Spanish translation of the Dewey decimal classification system.

*John A. Meyers*

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## Letters

### The Best Man

To the Editors:

There can be no doubt that we Catholics have in Pope John Paul I [Sept. 4] the best man for the job at this time.

The secret to the surprisingly quick election of the new Pope may well be discovered in his recognized "aversion to Communism." And so, important church matters like birth control and priestly celibacy may have been set to simmer on the back burner in order to attend to a primary concern: the right of the individual to realize his potential and pursue his highest destiny free of oppression.

(Mrs.) Marion Demange  
Riverside, Ill.



Both the brevity of the papal conclave and the selection of a dark horse as the new Pope defied the predictions of worldly analysts. The inescapable conclusion is that the Holy Spirit intervened.

Richard Y. Norrish  
Edwardsville, Ill.

The church is confronting one of the greatest crises in its history. At the time of Pope Pius' election in 1939 there was little if any dissension within the church, and thus it was able to speak as a united voice against war. Today, unfortunately, that is no longer the case, and papal authority is being challenged in many quarters. Pope John Paul's task, therefore, lies in binding the church together again, steering between traditionalists and progressives—and that certainly requires as firm a hand as that of Pope Pius XII.

Christopher Diaz  
New York City

#### Those Baffling Holes

Thank you for the fascinating article on black holes [Sept. 4]. This may sound strange to some people, but I am delighted by the fact that there is still something that can baffle almighty science.

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## Letters

tury man, with all his technology, cannot feel complacent about his world. He can still gaze heavenward and feel the same sense of awe and wonder experienced by earliest man, in all his ignorance.

*Glenn C. Despres  
Lynn, Mass.*

If a black hole can draw matter from a nearby star, perhaps two black holes can draw matter from each other, spewing off enough matter and energy into space to create a new galaxy eventually. Perhaps black holes are God's way of recreating the universe a portion at a time.

*Mary A. Ziegenfuss  
Avon Park, Fla.*

You should know that an impressive number of intelligent and thoughtful people do not regard parapsychology as "pseudoscientific hokum."

*Judith Perry  
Barre, Vt.*

### Monument for the Elite

I was pleased to read that the House of Representatives voted down an additional \$54 million for the Philip A. Hart Senate Office Building [Aug. 28]. However, I am outraged that this monument to elitism will be completed with all its luxuries for our democracy's ruling class.

*Timothy L. Julet  
Farmington, Mich.*

Senators may be big men and politics dirty, but 16-ft. ceilings and two bath-rooms per suite are ridiculous.

*Theodore T. Brundage  
Phoenix, Md.*

### Wrong Man, Wrong Spelling

Really now . . . the man you pictured with Karen Master [Sept. 4] is not T. Cullen Davis. His name is James L. Mabe Sr. Also, the name of the restaurant is CoCo's, not CoCo's.

*Christie Beard  
Fort Worth*

### Labor's Untidy House

In your article on labor [Sept. 4] you failed to mention two problem areas: connections with syndicated crime and corruption within labor ranks. Until labor sweeps out the dirty corners and gets its own house tidy, many of us will want none of our money thrown into the mess.

*Adele Breech  
Northport, N.Y.*

Labor unions, as such, have outlived their usefulness. It's time for management to take advantage of the situation and give labor a vested interest in the capitalistic enterprise system through equity profit sharing. Eventually, labor unions will be forced to change their point of view and seek higher profits for the benefit of their

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Today, the Poz-O-Tec® method developed by IU Conversion Systems provides a creative answer by turning this sludge into a structurally sound and environmentally acceptable material that can be used for landfill, embankments and other applications. In the case of the Poz-O-Tec installation at Duquesne Light, some of the chemically stabilized waste has been used as base material for a road in Indiana Township, PA. For a parking lot in Uniontown, PA. And for landfill at the utility.

With contracts from power plants in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky

and Texas that produce more than 13 million tons of sludge per year, IU Conversion Systems has twice the business of its two major competitors combined. And some of these contracts extend for 10-20 years. In each case, the Poz-O-Tec system is providing economical waste management. And the treated material safeguards the environment, while serving a practical purpose.

IU Conversion Systems is more than the leader in its field. It's an important subsidiary of IU International, whose interests in industrial products and services, utilities, land transportation, ocean shipping, distribution and agribusiness add up to \$2.3 billion in annual revenues.

For further information on the Poz-O-Tec system, write B. Lawrence Seabrook, Jr., President, IU Conversion Systems, Inc., 115 Gibraltar Road, Horsham, PA 19044. To learn more about IU International, write Corporate Affairs, IU International, 1500 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.





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### Letters

membership. At that point, outside stockholders may even want to pay for the privilege of joining such associations.

*Harry George Feinstein  
New Haven, Conn.*

### Perils of Plea Bargaining

It is amazing to me that sociologists, law professors and others typically divorced from the realities of our criminal-law system are sought out as experts on the subject of plea bargaining (Sept. 4). As a practical matter, bargaining is essential to this system, as a means of streamlining gargantuan case loads, and as a vehicle for ensuring the swift and inexpensive administration of justice, such as it is, in appropriate cases. Any prosecutor who claims to wholly eschew plea bargaining is dismissing a lot of borderline cases, losing a lot of jury trials or seriously mistating himself.

*James Roy Accardi  
Assistant District Attorney  
Huntsville, Ala.*

Your article on plea bargaining overlooks a basic fact: that it is the right of the defendant to plead guilty as well as to go to trial. The real question is whether by pleading guilty the defendant gains any substantial advantage. A recent study by the Institute for Law and Social Research (INSILAW) shows that those criminals pleading guilty do not gain any particular advantage either in the length of punishment or the seriousness of the crime to which they plead.

*Bernard Carey  
State's Attorney of Cook County  
Chicago*

### Kondratieff Upswing

With the best of intentions, you inverted my views by 180° (July 31). I believe that the world economy entered in 1972 the fifth Kondratieff upswing, not a downswing. At the core of this upswing is the prospect that the prices of energy, food, raw materials will fluctuate in a relatively higher range than in the previous downswing (1951-72). We shall have to try dealing with inflation more seriously than we now are. On the other hand, the Kondratieff upswing requires greatly enlarged investments in energy production and conservation, transport, water conservation and development, pollution control. When economists, politicians and businessmen come to understand that these will be our leading growth sectors, and we act to stimulate private and, where necessary, public investment in these directions, unemployment should be low, our growth rate high.

*Walt W. Rostow  
Austin, Texas*

Address Letters to **TIME**, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

# Not all decks give you the same deal.



The deck: The Sony TC-K5 cassette deck.

The deal: A high-performance deck that also lets your money perform.

And the reason Sony gives you more for your money is that Sony is more of a company. After all, we've been making tape recorders for over 30 years. Other manufacturers have to charge you for their learning experiences; Sony's experience saves you money.

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That's where you'll find our ferrite-and-ferrite record/playback head. Ferrite improves high frequency performance, and allows for a wider frequency response.

Ferrite is more expensive, but it lasts 200 times longer than conventional heads. And the body of the TC-K5 is built to last as long as its head.

## **Measure a cassette deck by its meters.**

The TC-K5 has two professionally calibrated VU meters. And there's also three LED peak-level indicators.

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And since we're not biased about standard, chromium dioxide, and ferrichrome tapes, our bias and equalization switches let you play all three. In fact, with nine possible combinations, any tape of the future can be handled.

The TC-K5, with built-in Dolby noise reduction system, is priced like a basic cassette. But you'd never know it from the elegant electronics and controls. It has features above and beyond the call of duty—but not the call of Sony.

It's for those on a budget. But who, when it comes to quality, refuse to budge.

# SONY AUDIO







Late work at Jon Lunsford's garage in Evanston, Wyo., comes mostly from the rush of traffic on nearby Interstate 80

## American Scene

### In Wyoming: Greasy Work at the Crossroads

The scar on Steven Shepherd's 26-year-old belly looks like a zipper. His faded brown shirt is open, and the scar is the first thing you notice. "It's a splenectomy," he informs. "Hodgkin's disease. I spent a year in the hospital with chemotherapy and cobalt treatments. Now they say it's regressed." It is the beginning of another day in Evanston, Wyo. (pop. 4,848; elevation 6,748 ft.), and while Shepherd talks, the oil and water stains on the cement driveway of the A & A Texaco station are turned to rainbows by the morning sun.

For three days, Shepherd has been haunting the A & A, awaiting the arrival, by Greyhound bus from Salt Lake City, of a part for his brown Triumph sports car. The Triumph suffered a blown head gasket after pulling a U-Haul trailer up one mountain grade too many. Shepherd wears his hair long, sports a scraggly beard, an earring in his left ear lobe and a gold marijuana leaf in his collar. He is going to the University of Colorado in Boulder, where he will study molecular biology. He is impatient to leave Evanston, this cowboy and oil town where they sell bumper stickers that read I'M A RÖPER, NOT A DÖPER.

Such sentiments are typical enough in this part of western Wyoming, which still enjoys a lingering sense of pioneer independence and unabashed patriotism. Legends like KEEP AMERICA GREEN and JOIN THE ARMY adorn the bumpers of many a local pickup that rolls into the A & A. Shepherd is not as out of place in this environment as he thinks, though. The A & A looks pretty much the way most gas stations everywhere did before self-service and digital pump readouts set in. But it is only a lasso's throw away from In-

terstate 80, America's main street from New York to San Francisco, and thus a haven for a dawn-to-dark stream of crippled motor homes, family sedans and four-wheel-drive pickups.

Shepherd is only one of several bit players in the *cinéma vérité* unfolding at this particular American crossroads. The set: a cement driveway, four pumps (ethyl, regular and lead-free), two tiled bathrooms, two mechanics' bays and a battery of U-Haul trailers for rent. Most of the cast had never heard of Evanston, much less the A & A, until they found themselves waylaid outside town by a steaming radiator, broken drive shaft, clogged fuel pump or flat tire, and brought here. Usually they are towed in by Jon Lunsford, 40, soft-spoken Mormon and "the Boss," or by his ace mechanic, Cliff Cole, 36, a chain-smoking drinker-turned-teetotaler, who likes to explain that he's "been working on cars for 40 years." The A & A is mainly a family business. On this, as on most days, Jon Lunsford's two oldest sons—Doug, 20, already married and the father of two, and Danny, a shy 16-year-old—open at 6:30 a.m. to answer the chorus of ding-dings set off as cars begin rolling over the rubber signal hose stretched across the driveway.

"Every day is different," says Danny. And as if to underline his observation, a blue and white car with New Mexico plates pulls up on the rest-room side of the station and a young man steps out. While Danny pumps gas and checks dipsticks, the driver quietly approaches two oil riggers on their way to Idaho who have come to rent a trailer hitch. He offers them a gold watch and turquoise ring for \$150. After 15 minutes of dickering, the deal is closed. The watch and two rings

go for \$25. "I'm just trying to make a living. Don't ask me no questions," the young man says as he drives off.

As the sun gets higher and traffic on the interstate quickens, business at the A & A picks up, some of it local. B. L. Riddle ("Most folks call me Chief") drives in from his Running Bear Ranch to ask Danny to go elk hunting and talk about a timber wolf he's seen the day before. A middle-aged couple pull up to tell Cliff Cole of a breakdown east of town. Within minutes Cole is chugging down I-80 in the older of the A & A's two tow trucks, a 1970 Ford with some 135,000 miles on the odometer.

Ten miles out of town, Cole finds Frank Stanway, 34, whose 1968 Dodge pickup is threatening to keep him from getting to Savanna, Ill., in time for a new job. While Cole's magic fingers work on the Dodge's engine, Stanway sits in the small house trailer he plans to live in for the next two years. His sole companion, a black cat not used to strangers, hides in the toilet. Living in the trailer will save money, Stanway explains, since his new job as a civilian intern with the Army pays only about half the \$18,000 a year he has been earning in a furniture factory back home in Vancouver, Wash. But the Government job offers real security and a chance for promotion.

Cole starts Stanway's pickup, advises him that a bad valve lifter is his problem and suggests that an oil additive will probably get him over the 1,200 miles to Savanna. On the way back to the A & A, Cole is reminded of Shepherd and allows as how he doesn't think much of hippies. On a recent tow job, one flagged him down on the highway. "I thought something was

## American Scene

wrong and stopped to help. And he said, "Hey man, you got a couple of cigarettes?" I told him to get a job and buy his own." Cole takes a deep and disapproving drag on his cigarette.

**B**ack at the A & A, the work is piling up. Linda Buchanan, a thirtyish blonde, is waiting for someone to repair the fuel pump on her 1962 Chrysler. She is wearing a T shirt with the word BABY and an arrow pointing downward, attesting to her four-month pregnancy, and has left her husband back in Sacramento. With her sister Debra, 23, Debra's two small children, a three-legged dog and a U-Haul, she was on her way to Grand Forks, N. Dak., when the engine started to overheat. They are all tired and nervous, especially the three-legged dog, which keeps barking. "She got run over by a train," Linda Buchanan explains. Within an hour, Cole has fixed the fuel pump and the party starts out for Grand Forks, where Buchanan is headed "to make a new life," she explains. "I got a job bartending."

Cole is really pleased he was able to get them on their way. In five years at the A & A, he's developed a reputation around town for his expertise with engines. A crackerjack mechanic is a rare commodity these days, and Cole has had half a dozen offers of garage jobs as far

away as Los Angeles, and for more money than he will ever make at the A & A. But he grew up outside Evanston, and likes Lunsford. And though he tries to think mainly about engines and stay out of other people's lives, there are times when he and the rest of the A & A crew cannot avoid it. Like yesterday, when two young men drove in the station to get gas. "An old man who was partially paralyzed was in the back seat," Cole says. "He'd had a stroke and said he was trying to drive from Reno to Chicago to see his daughter before he died. He picked up these two guys on the highway to help him. I saw the trunk had been busted into and the ignition was hot-wired. After they left, I called the cops."

Like service stations all over the country, the A & A has its troubles. "Five years ago, this place was a gold mine," Lunsford says. "Today I'm lucky if the gasoline just pays the overhead. I make it off the U-Haul rentals and back-room mechanical work." During the Arab oil embargo, the station pumped 500,000 gallons of gas. Last year it dropped to 400,000, he says, and his after-tax income has shrunk from \$23,000 four years ago to under \$10,000. "Five years ago, the lease called for \$289 a month to Texaco, plus a penny on each gallon. Now it's \$877 a month and nothing on the gallon." He knows he's lucky to have

his sons and Cole working for him.

While Lunsford talks, Cole has gone back to working over Shepherd's Triumph. The necessary part, a head gasket, has come from Salt Lake City, and the differences between the life-styles of the two men seem to dissolve as they work together over the Triumph engine. Cole is the professor, Shepherd an earnest but knowledgeable student.

**E**ventually the Triumph is ready, and Shepherd gets set to head out for Boulder. His interlude at the A & A and his first stay ever in a motel will soon be just a memory. But in this small segment of time, he has made friends, one of whom feels close enough to ask him, "What if the cancer starts up again?" Shepherd smiles. "I don't want any more treatments," he says. "But if I die I'll come back as a little black girl and I'll be a nurse."

An occasional semi-truck can still be heard vrr-o-o-oming down the interstate, but most travelers are now bedded down in campsites or in motels like the Ramada Inn across the street. Danny is off to the movies with his girlfriend, and Jon and Doug are home with their families. Cole shoves the tire and windshield-wiper racks into the mechanics' bay and lights a cigarette with hands black with grease. "Every day is different," he says, echoing Danny.

— Joe Boyce



## "Horowitz-Live!" The New York Philharmonic, Zubin Mehta conducting. Sunday, September 24, on NBC-TV.

Sunday, September 24—live from Lincoln Center—the legendary pianist Vladimir Horowitz performs Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 3 in D Minor with the New York Philharmonic under the direction of its Music Director, Zubin Mehta.

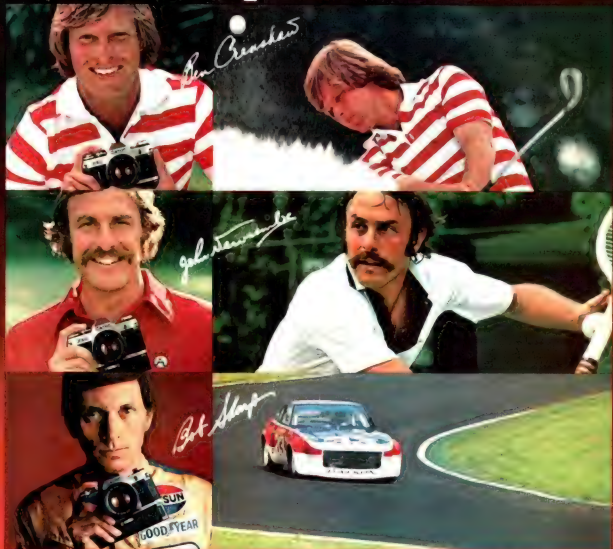
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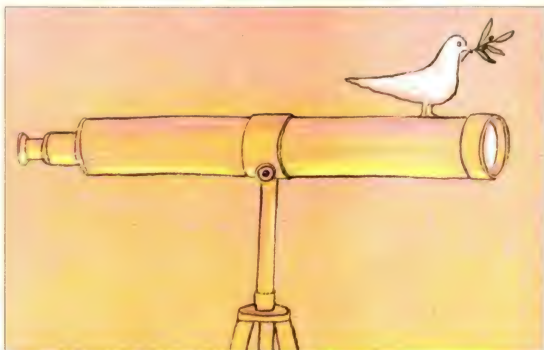
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## Canon AE-1

So advanced, it's simple.



Seeking a settlement of issues that have triggered four Arab-Israeli wars, President Carter confers with Egypt's Sadat at Camp David



During a break in the complex negotiations, Israel's Begin and U.S. National Security Adviser Brzezinski relax over a simpler game



TIME, SEPT. 25, 1978



COVER STORY

## A Sudden Vision of Peace

*Jimmy Carter stages an extraordinary summit that has old foes embracing*

**F**rom the beginning it had been one of the most remarkable meetings of world leaders ever conceived, let alone enacted. In the end it turned out, against all expectations, to be a summit of astonishing and perhaps ultimately historic achievement. After 13 days of being cloistered with their closest aides at Camp David, President Jimmy Carter, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Premier Menachem Begin emerged Sunday night to sign before the television cameras and the watching world two documents that were giant efforts toward peace in the Middle East. Though considerable obstacles and hard bargaining remain, it was a major breakthrough in areas that have defied all the efforts of war and diplomacy for three decades. The outcome was substantially more than anyone except perhaps Host Jimmy Carter had believed possible before the summit began—and immensely more than had been anticipated right up to the Sunday on which the summit was to end, apparently in failure.

The first document was titled "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East." As ambitious as its name, it envisaged in great detail the mechanics, if not all the solutions, that would enable Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians to work out over five years the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, a measure of autonomy for the Palestinians in those re-

gions, and guilt-free guarantees of security for Israel.

The second document was "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel." Except on one critical point left unresolved, the status of Israeli settlements in the occupied Sinai, it was even more precise and explicit. It called for an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty to be signed within three months, major Israeli withdrawals within three to nine months after that, the normalization of all relationships between the two countries within a year and complete Israeli withdrawal from Egyptian territory within three years. Though the two agreements were not contingent upon each other, the aim was clear: through their joint application they could create a climate and a context of progress toward peace that would bring along the more reluctant elements in the Middle East that were not represented at Camp David, upon whose ultimate cooperation any durable peace depends. That includes not only the other Arab nations and the Palestinians, but also those in Israel opposed to any return of Arab territories or dismantling of Israeli settlements in them.

The magnitude of their triumph was evident as the three leaders spoke in turn Sunday night in the gold and crystal East Room of the White House where some 400 Congressmen, Cabinet members and the trio's staff had hastily assembled. His

face ashen with fatigue but punctuated by repeated smiles, Carter announced the broad outlines of the two agreements, declaring, "My hope is that the promise of this moment will be fulfilled." Sadat, initially somber, was almost reverential in his praise of Carter for calling the summit. Said he: "You took a gigantic step."

Begin, chatty at first, turned serious to sound the same note of praise. "It was really the Jimmy Carter conference," the President of the U.S. won the day," he said. "Peace now celebrates a great victory for the nations of Egypt and Israel and for all mankind." Turning to Sadat, Begin recounted how they had become friends on first meeting, when Sadat made his historic visit to Jerusalem last November. Begin alluded to the difficulties (largely of his making) that had brought all progress to a halt in the intervening months, but waved them away, saying "Everything belongs to the past." He said he and Sadat were friends anew, and as a now-smiling Sadat nodded in vigorous assent, he challenged Sadat and himself to sign their peace treaty even before the three-month deadline. Finished, Begin rose to embrace Carter. Then, in an emotional piece of theater as telling as anything the three men had said, Begin walked behind Carter to Sadat and the two men embraced, not once but twice. Not since Sadat had stepped from his plane into the klieg lights at Tel Aviv air-



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port ten months ago had peace in the Middle East seemed so palpably possible.

Which is not to say it is at hand, for all the promise the Camp David agreements hold out. The aim at the summit was to reach some accord on questions that have blocked an Arab-Israeli peace settlement since the 1967 war: How is Israeli security to be assured? Who has sovereignty over the Jordan River's West Bank? What will be the status of the Palestinians? Carter Administration officials praised the dual agreement as marking the first time that a framework has been created to deal with the three fundamental issues that have prevented settlement: peace, Israeli withdrawal and security, and the Palestinians. But they readily acknowledge that some of the thorniest issues have been left for future resolution, as an analysis of the two agreements shows. Both are indeed frameworks, carefully and even ingeniously latticed in places, gappingly unfinished in others. A précis of each:

**Framework for a Peace in the Middle East** is designed to permit the progressive resolution of the Palestinian issue over the next five years—the transition period that Israel and Egypt agreed should precede the actual signing of a peace treaty for the entire area. The negotiations during the interim period are meant to enable the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, who are mostly Palestinians, to obtain full autonomy and self-government at the end of the five years. Ideally, those negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians living in the occupied lands, and will conclude with, among other things, a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan. But getting Jordan and the Palestinians to participate in those negotiations may be no easy task, particularly since the agreement leaves it to the negotiations to determine the exact na-

ture of the sovereignty of Gaza and the West Bank. Of help will be the fact that Israel has agreed that the settlement will be based on all the provisions and principles of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied during the 1967 war. That is a major Israeli concession: the West Bank and Gaza are among those territories.

In return, Israel will be permitted to maintain a military presence at specific locations in the occupied lands, during the transition, to ensure its security, and there are further, detailed provisions for demilitarized zones, early warning stations, an international (meaning U.N.) peace-keeping force, and the gradual creation of local police forces. No U.S. troops will be used. During the negotiations, Israel has promised not to build any new settlements in Gaza or the West Bank. Left unmentioned as too tricky for even a "framework" discussion was the status of East Jerusalem.

**Framework for a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel** affirms Israel's willingness to restore to Egypt sovereignty over the Sinai. It also affirms Egypt's willingness to make peace and establish normal relations with Israel. The document provides for security zones and for limitations of forces and armaments in the Sinai. It calls for the phased withdrawal of Israeli forces, and the return of two of Israel's air bases in the Sinai to Egyptian civilian control. Much of that would take place within a year, assuming there is a signed peace treaty within three months.

Virtually the only important issue left unresolved is the status of the 17 Israeli settlements in the Sinai. Sadat had wanted, as Carter pointed out formally Sunday night, an Israeli agreement to remove the settlements as a prerequisite to a peace treaty. Israel, the President said, wanted

to leave the issue for further negotiation. In an adroit move, Carter won a promise, which he pointedly aired in his report, that Israel's parliament, the Knesset, will come to a decision on the fate of the settlements within the next two weeks. The aim is to put world pressure on the Israelis not to be responsible for delaying peace with Egypt by continuing to insist the settlements are inviolable. Earlier in the week, a U.S. official had said of Israel's surprisingly strong stand on the Sinai settlements, where Israel has no sovereignty: "It's incredible. The Israelis are sticking Sadat right where it hurts him most." The issue is also a very heated one in Egypt: Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel was noticeably absent from the festivities in the East Room.

Never in the history of modern international negotiations have leaders been so isolated for so long in so single-minded an attempt to resolve the antagonisms that have divided their nations. They were working under highly unusual conditions. In contrast to the deadly serious items on the negotiating table was the bucolic setting of Camp David, with an enchanting hint of autumn in the air. The mood of informality was evident from the participants' attire. Instead of the pin-stripe suits of traditional diplomacy, Carter wore faded denims, an old cardigan and comfortable sneakers. Sadat, in his elegantly tailored safari suits and sports coats, resembled a Continental taking the waters at a spa. Even Begin, whose sartorial formality is one of his trademarks, occasionally shed his coat and tie. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Defense Minister Ezer Weizman sported windbreakers bearing the Camp David seal, and U.S. National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski wore a submariner's jacket at several sessions.

Also unusual was the meeting's nearly total isolation from the probes of the



Sadat, Carter and Begin sign the historic Middle East "framework" agreements in the White House East Room

world's press. It may well have been the rule of strict secrecy that enabled the conference to go on as long as it did, and thus make possible Sunday's dramatic turnabout. Not having to face a barrage of questions from newsmen, the participants had no need to posture or issue self-serving and sometimes inflammatory statements.

What was perhaps most unusual of all was the very cast of characters. Seldom has such an extraordinary trio of leaders gathered in common purpose: a Christian, a Jew and a Muslim, each a man of deep faith who believes that while he is responsible for the welfare of his people, he also serves a higher authority. This can humble a leader; but it can also encourage him to take worthwhile—or dangerous—risks. For Carter, a born-again Baptist, the strength of his faith may have helped inspire him to convene the summit, even while knowing its possible collapse would further dim hopes for peace. As Carter perhaps optimistically saw it, the potential benefit—a major step toward resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict—was greater than the risk.

Sometimes the marathon at Camp David resembled an eleven-hour labor-management negotiation aimed at fending off a crippling strike. Sometimes the atmosphere recalled that of a religious retreat. In other respects, especially the near total seclusion, the conference resembled the recent conclave that elected Pope John Paul I—but in this case there were not even the periodic wisps of smoke from the Sistine Chapel to let the outside world know what was going on. Right until the end, Camp David was emitting no definitive signals.

As a result, nobody was ever sure whether what one high U.S. aide called Carter's "gigantic effort" was succeeding or if there was serious trouble. In fact, there were lots of both. Except for White House Press Secretary Jody Powell's terse briefings on nonsubstantive matters, there was nothing to go on, nothing for a frustrated worldwide press corps of some 350 to report. Meanwhile, an anxious and intently concerned globe waited and waited.

At one midweek point it seemed as if a conclusion—and not a very satisfactory one—was imminent. Powell announced that the talks had entered their "final stages." U.S. officials were making it known that they would like to wrap up the conference before the start of another weekend of triple sabbaths. But only a day after his statement, Powell retreated, explaining with prescience that "the final stage could be the longest stage." He added that "a framework for reaching peace" was still beyond grasp and that "more

progress and more flexibility are essential." But as was to happen frequently in the following days, Carter refused to give up.

An Arab-Israeli settlement was becoming increasingly urgent because a number of other serious problems are endangering Middle East stability. Unrest and violence are rocking Iran, and war continues to rage in Lebanon. Said Israeli Acting Premier Yigael Yadin in Jerusalem: "The situation in Iran and Lebanon may help move things at Camp David. Often the best cure for a headache is to have someone kick you in the stomach." Another source of trouble is the increasing Soviet presence in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas and Soviet ventures in Africa.

With the stakes so high at Camp Da-

example, told his colleagues in Jerusalem by telephone that he could not say much about the talks because Carter had asked him not to. When Defense Minister Weizman was asked by newsmen how the Israelis were doing, he cryptically responded: "We are doing."

The reason for the successful news blackout was that the Egyptians and Israelis agreed to allow Jody Powell to serve as the sole official outlet of information—surely one of the toughest assignments ever handed a White House press secretary. In his daily meetings with reporters inside the American Legion post at Thurmont, Md., six miles from Camp David, Powell kept his statements concise and skillfully avoided conveying anything substantive. He deflected questions about concessions on the part of Israel or

Egypt by noting diplomatically: "There's been flexibility shown on both sides." To ensure that this modest observation did not unduly raise hopes for a successful outcome, he added that "substantial differences still remain in important areas" and cautioned against "strong optimism or pessimism."

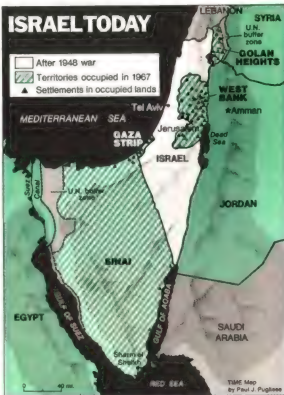
If Powell's briefings did little more than confirm that a summit was in session, at least they provided a skeletal view of events inside Camp David. In the first days of the conclave, it was clear that the U.S. was feeling out the positions of both the Israelis and Egyptians. As part of this process, the three leaders met together three times, for a total of 6½ hours. Although the three weekend sabbaths—Muslim, Jewish and Christian—slowed the pace of the talks somewhat, they gave the participants an opportunity to review what they had learned and analyze potential areas of compromise.

On the summit's first weekend, the participants took a respite from diplomacy when Carter, at military-buff Begin's request, organized a 3½-hour excursion to Gettysburg's Civil War battlefield, some 17 miles north of Camp David. As the group

viewed monuments and century-old cannons, Carter attempted to lighten the mood by joking that the gun had a range of three miles, vs. 300 to 400 yds. for the cluster bombs that the U.S. sold to Israel after the 1973 war. Sadat and Begin somehow managed a laugh. But reporters accompanying the entourage noticed a marked lack of warmth between the Egyptian and Israeli leaders; they barely spoke to each other during the excursion. When Sadat did talk to an Israeli, it was to Weizman, his favorite member of the Begin Cabinet.

As last week's sessions began, Powell indicated that the negotiations had become "even more intense." He stressed that Carter "has been an active partic-

ipated in the process." Powell also indicated that the negotiations had become "even more intense." He stressed that Carter "has been an active partic-



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ipant in the discussions. He has felt free to offer suggestions as they seem to be appropriate." The style and tempo of the summit, in fact, recalled Carter's long pursuit of the presidency: a stubborn, dogged approach to tough issues and an assumption that sheer strength and determination must eventually triumph.

The review of the summit's opening days convinced the U.S. that Begin and Sadat were disagreeing so sharply on some basic issues that it would be wise to quit holding joint sessions. Instead, Carter began conducting what is known in diplomacy as "proximity talks." Because Sadat and Begin were in lodges less than 100 yds. apart, Carter was able to move easily from a bilateral conversation with one to a chat with the other. Meanwhile, tri-

been together since the Gettysburg outing. The Arab and Israeli leaders had not exchanged a substantial word for days. Hearing of the deadlock speculation, Powell exclaimed: "There is not any 'stalemate' period."

On Wednesday Powell was more guarded than ever at his briefing. He talked of "final stages." He said so many meetings were taking place simultaneously that "I can't imagine any more intensive period of discussions." But he added, "There is still no basis for informed speculation as to the final outcome."

With the proceedings seemingly winding to a close as the weekend neared, Vance, Dayan, Kamel and other top officials from the three sides entered into a flurry of consultations and negotiations.



Begin and Sadat, with aides, on Sunday before leaving for Washington  
After the fine tuning, the jigsaw pieces finally fit together.

lateral meetings continued between ministerial-level officials, such as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan and Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel.

**A**fter several intense sessions between the Americans and Egyptians, Sadat telephoned Jordan's King Hussein in London. Since the King's cooperation is essential for any enduring Middle East peace, it was thought Sadat had heard something new from the Israelis and wanted to try it out on the Jordanian. Powell's disclosure of the phone call even triggered some speculation, which proved quite unfounded, that Hussein was planning to join the talks. Remarkably one of the King's aides about the Sadat phone call: "His Majesty was very pessimistic about Camp David before the summit began and has heard nothing to change that view." At this point, word began circulating that the summit was deadlocked. Begin, Sadat and Carter had not formally met with each other since the preceding Thursday and had not even

Their task apparently was to draft some sort of statement. But Carter continued meeting separately with Begin and Sadat. One evening he dropped by Begin's lodge; the following morning he strolled with Sadat for more than an hour along Camp David's wooded trails.

The strange cycle of hopes and fears continued. At one point on Thursday, Carter was sufficiently optimistic to get in touch with Speaker of the House Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. to discuss imminent post-summit arrangements.

O'Neill was asked if the House leadership of both parties would be able to join Carter at the White House to discuss the results of Camp David on Friday, presumably after the summit would have ended. The President also inquired whether the House International Relations Committee would be able to meet privately on Friday with Begin and Sadat. O'Neill responded yes to both questions.

But when Carter wanted to know if he would be able to explain what happened at Camp David to a televised joint

session of Congress on Monday, O'Neill had reservations. A noon address was out, advised Tip: it would interrupt the Congressmen's rush to clear the legislative calendar so that they could hit the campaign trail. And a 9 p.m. appearance, cautioned O'Neill, would conflict with the televised Monday-night football game. The Speaker suggested that the President consider delivering his address early on Monday evening, advice Carter would wind up taking when the summit ended.

**B**ut plans for the Friday conclusion were most premature. Thursday night, in fact, the talks nearly broke down. At that time, an Egyptian in touch with his country's delegation remarked: "Absolutely nothing is being achieved. Things are going badly on all points." While this was something of an exaggeration, his assessment was basically confirmed by an Israeli official who said on Friday: "Wednesday we were very close. But if we end today, we end in failure."

The problem apparently was Sadat's mounting frustration at Begin's adamant refusal to accept the principle of Arab sovereignty over the West Bank. It took a talk with Dayan and a long walk with Carter before Sadat cooled off and the crisis passed. Still the two antagonists were no closer to agreement.

With the talks bogged down, Carter finally wondered whether Sadat and Begin might not be holding a few concessions in reserve to play, if necessary, in the final, crucial stage of the talks. The President thus came to a vital decision: he would propose that the summit end Sunday, whether or not agreement had been reached. When Vice President Walter Mondale sounded out Begin and Sadat on this, they concurred. Among those pleased by the decision were the frustrated newsmen waiting at the Thurmont press center. When Powell told them the conference was ending Sunday, they cheered.

By this time there was surely cheering inside Camp David too. (One slogan proposed by junior staffers for a summit T shirt: *IRLL THE CAMP DAVID THIRLL*.) The combination of strain, crowded living and somewhat spartan surroundings was telling on everyone. On Friday Carter's aides described him as nearing mental and physical exhaustion. Said one: "He's really wiped."

The heavy demands Carter had set for himself gave him very little time to use Camp David's recreational facilities. He did, however, manage to fit in a few sets of tennis with Rosalynn and bicycle around the grounds, sometimes to negotiating sessions. Others fared slightly better. Among the most popular forms of relaxation at the summit were evening movies. With 60 or so films in the camp's library, Sadat saw some of his favorites. Among them: *Shane* and *Treasure of Sierra Madre*. Begin found time to challenge

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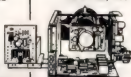
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## Nation

Brzezinski to a three-game chess match. The outcome: two wins for Zbig, one for Begin.

The camp's kitchens, run by the Navy, were able to whip up just about anything the three leaders wanted to eat. Carter and Sadat dined mainly in the privacy of their lodges, but Begin regularly took his meals at Laurel Lodge with his delegation. Lower-ranking officials found the cuisine far less satisfactory, with the U.S. staffers particularly put out to find their trays heaped with familiar G.I. stomach turners like creamed chipped beef on toast. Except for Carter's spacious Aspen Lodge, living quarters for the U.S. team were cramped. Vance shared a two-bedroom cottage with Mondale, who was shuttling between Camp David and the capital. When Defense Secretary Harold Brown came up for part of the talks, he and Vance had to room together and take turns in the bathroom.

It was only on the final Saturday that the possibility of a breakthrough began to take shape. While Begin observed the Sabbath, Carter met with Sadat for 2½ hours. Once sundown came, Carter and Begin met for 4½ hours. By that time their negotiators had narrowed success or failure for the summit to just two issues: the Palestinians and the Israeli Sinai settlements.

**A**ll day Sunday, the U.S. pressed hard on both. There was no dramatic turning point on the Palestinians, just "a lot of fine tuning and adjusting so all the jigsaw pieces would finally fit," said one U.S. official. Alternative proposals on language went back and forth for approval, options were accepted and rejected, but by mid-afternoon the compromise formula letting the Palestinians participate in the negotiations and have a say in the final status of Gaza and the West Bank had been adopted.

At 3 p.m. they turned to the Sinai settlements, and that took 2½ hours, beginning with a brief Carter-Begin meeting, followed by a Carter-Sadat huddle of more than an hour and a half. Sadat was unhappy at letting Begin off the hook by passing the issue to the Knesset, and Carter's aides waiting outside the President's pine-paneled study grew more and more worried. Then, at 4:30, Carter looked out the window and flashed the thumbs-up sign. They had a deal. Begin got his copies of the proposed agreements in his cabin, Birch, read them carefully and told his aides: "If this is it, we're going to sign. I'm going to call President Sadat and then go see him." Outside, the rain was torrential. Begin told Sadat he would come over to his cabin, Dogwood, as soon as the rain stopped. Before he got there, Sadat sent over some autographed pictures of himself with Begin and Carter that he had dedicated to Begin's granddaughters. For 25 minutes Begin visited Sadat. A half-hour later, Sadat suddenly appeared, without warning, at the door of Begin's

cabin to return the call. To reciprocate the gift of photographs, Begin presented Sadat with a medallion by Israeli Artist Yachov Agam. Its theme: "The Dream of Peace." Then Begin suggested, "Let's both go tomorrow night to hear President Carter address the Congress." Sadat agreed. Already, Carter's aides were making the arrangements for the trip down from the mountain to tell the world what the three leaders had wrought.

In some important aspects, Sadat had arrived at Camp David hazily isolated. He had angered the Soviets by expelling their advisers, and annoyed Arab leaders by not consulting with them before he went to Jerusalem to launch his initiative. Because of his exposed position, he could look only to the U.S. and Saudi Arabia for major support in future inter-



Jody Powell briefing the press at Thurmont

From the newsmen, a cheer of delight.

national maneuvers, including any talks with the Israelis.

Begin, of course, also could ill afford to antagonize the U.S., which has been providing about \$2 billion in aid annually to Israel. But in any disagreements with an American Administration, the Israelis could always count on considerable backing from the politically powerful U.S. Jewish community. American Zionist leaders had already been told by Begin's aides that after Camp David, they "might be called upon" to undertake a "massive" public relations campaign to defend Israel's position. But even with such backing inside the U.S., Begin, like Sadat, preferred not to face the uncertain political and diplomatic consequences of a Camp David failure.

Those consequences could well have caused a thorough reshuffling of the entire deck of Middle East cards. The arguments by Arab moderates would be

badly tarnished. The Soviet Union and "rejectionist" Arab states such as Libya and Iraq would gloat that they had long condemned Sadat's solo initiative as foolish and had warned fellow Arab nations against looking to the U.S. for satisfaction in their conflict with the Israelis.

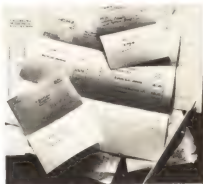
Now Sadat can offer the two "frameworks," signed as they are by Jimmy Carter, as evidence of the benefits of working with the U.S. Sadat will point out, moreover, that years of relying on Moscow did not help the Arabs regain a single inch of land from Israel. The Camp David achievements could enhance Washington's influence in the Middle East just at a time when Moscow was beginning to exploit the situation in the general area. Now there is no chance at all of a rapprochement between Sadat and the Soviets. As a Russian in Cairo remarked, "Even if Sadat turns against the U.S., we would not accept him again. We would prefer to see him overthrown and to deal with someone else."

**A**s an attempt to counter what will be a storm of unfavorable Arab reaction to the summit, Carter is expected to dispatch Special Ambassador Alfred Atherton to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and perhaps Syria to explain what happened in the Catcote Mountains. It is also likely that the Administration will demonstrate its continuing commitment to Sadat. One possibility is that Carter will boost economic and military aid to Cairo, and possibly even sell Sadat 800 of the 2,000 armored personnel carriers that he has requested. By bolstering Egypt's armed forces, the U.S. hopes to enable Cairo to play a more active role in African regional affairs, such as supporting neighboring Sudan. That country's pro-Western government is worried about the increased Soviet and Cuban influence in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

Sadat's next steps in the Middle East will, to some degree, be influenced by Saudi Arabia. The Saudis were the silent partners at Camp David, for neither the U.S. nor Egypt can afford to ignore their views. Their bulging treasury supports Egypt's crippled economy, and their petroleum and financial reserves have served U.S. interests by tempering oil price hikes and helping support the weakening international position of the dollar. Sadat's journey to Jerusalem was publicly praised by the Saudis, though they had reservations about his chances for success. Because they are worried about the mounting influence of radicals in the Middle East, however, the conservative Saudis reluctantly endorsed Sadat's participation at Camp David in the hope that any peace progress would bolster the position of the moderates. But prior to Sunday night, King Khalid & Co. were running out of patience. Said an Arab official in Cairo of the summit early last week: "It is Sadat's last hurrah."

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## The Sweet Fruits of Success

Stunning as the Camp David results were, from the Arab view the summit may still be Sadat's last hurrah. Once again Sadat has demonstrated remarkable courage and statesmanship in promoting the cause of peace, but if his name was mud in much of the Arab world before Sunday night, it is something even worse now.

The Saudis will be torn between their interest in peace and moderation and their desire for Arab unity. There is nothing in the frameworks to please Syrian President Hafez Assad—Syria is hardly mentioned. A harsh critic of Sadat's peace moves, Assad earlier said Camp David was "the final striptease" in which the Israelis "won't even leave Sadat a fig leaf." Radio Damascus called the frameworks "a phony deal signed by two phony men. It represents American imperialism and a complete sellout of the Palestinians."

The frameworks fall far short of what King Hussein had previously demanded as his price for joining the talks. The P.L.O.—left, center and right—is sure to be outraged and even in Sadat's own camp there is contention and bitterness on the grounds that he had given up too much.

Even though on balance it was Begin who conceded the least, he, too, cannot expect a totally euphoric welcome home. Opposition Leader Shimon Peres was quoted as saying, "With such concessions we could have finished a long time ago. It's a hard thing to take." Goula Cohen, a member of Begin's own party in the Knesset, also found it hard to take. "Begin has always talked of living on both sides of the Jordan River. Now we will be living on both sides of the Yarkon (a little stream that flows through Tel Aviv). Begin has committed national suicide." Still, most Israelis in the end would likely go along with Begin.

Indeed, the first wave of reaction to the agreements confirmed, in a sense, the quality of the diplomacy achieved at Camp David. Like the result of any tough bargain struck in a complicated situation, there was a little something for almost everyone—and something to upset and chagrin almost everyone. Given the depth of antagonisms and the sharp clash of multiple interests in the Middle East, it could hardly be otherwise; that is precisely why peace has eluded the combatants for so long. It may again. Everything about the Middle East suggests the truth of the proverb that goes: "When you are 90% finished with a task, you are only half-way there."

Nonetheless, all the participants deserve high marks for the extraordinary effort the summit represented, and none more so than Jimmy Carter. Alone of the principals he should benefit at home from an unequivocal, sorely needed and well-earned rise in the esteem—and the opinion polls—of his countrymen. His summit, for all the hazards that lie ahead, moved the troubled Middle East a little closer to peace—and a little farther from war. ■

If Jimmy Carter looks out over the White House fence these next few days through those weary eyes of his, he may find out that America just loves it when a President succeeds, no matter what party he is from or how his brother behaves in public.

It is a phenomenon as old as the Republic but mercifully just as valid today as 202 years ago. Forget for these hours all the talk about creating a "new image" and also the considerable catalogue of complaints compiled against the 39th President. The bottom line this week on Camp David is that Carter took one big step for peace. If Americans know anything, they know how to read bottom lines. Until now Jimmy Carter's have been running in the red.

A successful summit in the Maryland mountains is not a cure for Carter's leadership problem. But surely it is a kind of achievement at the critical time needed to bring people a little closer to their President, to silence for the moment a lot of petty grievances that grew bigger than they should have because of Carter's fumbling. It worked that way for John Kennedy in 1963, when after the Cuban missile crisis he successfully completed the nuclear test-ban treaty with the Soviet Union. And even Richard Nixon, never really a man to engender affection, at least won broad respect when he came back from Peking and Moscow in 1972 with solid entries in his ledger.

For Jimmy Carter it may be several new beginnings.

He will have to devote more of his carefully allotted time than ever now to nurturing this fragile infant that he has helped to midwife into robust life. Good. Let the trivia—like foreign pilgrimages, town meetings and water-project vetoes—that have cluttered and complicated his world so far be conveniently forgotten now and then as he goes after a genuine Middle East peace. That issue and the other big one, inflation, are enough to justify his salary for the rest of the year.

He will surely see as never before that it is the President and only the President who can give an Administration, indeed a nation, direction and force. Jimmy Carter by every account was the one who moved Israel and Egypt, who almost without hope held them together when they threatened to fly apart, who abandoned his Sunday-school pieties for the hard realities of geography and people, yet never lost his basic goodness, perhaps his greatest strength.

It could be that this success will light a spark, indeed a fire, in the President. His cool and distant smile of the past months could not hide all the hurt in his eyes from the rising national doubts about his competence. As Americans cheer his Camp David achievement, Jimmy Carter with luck and wisdom could be born again a second time in a way that could lift this nation as well as himself. Men in public service are nourished by justified public acclaim. Carter's time has at last come.

Lyndon Johnson used to say that in government as well as in poker there came a day when you had to shove your whole stack into the center of the table. Carter, with a new cannniness and considerable courage, did just that. He used the device of the intimate gathering, the calm and casual approach, the very technique that won him the White House in the first place. He defied tradition and even his own campaign promises by imposing a singular secrecy on the summit proceedings. He has at the very least won the first game, and in the league in which he plays that may be enough to start a winning streak.



Moving forward at Camp David

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Sip two. A vodka martini



Sip three. A white rum martini

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Gerald Ford greeted by an enthusiastic crowd in Austin, Texas; Jack Kemp after breakfast with New York businessmen



## To Candidates, Right Looks Right

*Both sides come out conservative on taxes*

**W**ith the 1978 campaign now rousing under way, Democrats and Republicans are engaged in furious battle. But on the major issue they have achieved a rare consensus. Both parties are scrambling as adroitly as possible to respond to the tax-cutting fever that is sweeping the nation (see page 48). Historically, this is a Republican cause; yet much to the indignation of the G.O.P., the Democrats have embraced it as well. Since most Democratic candidates can also make full use of the advantages of being incumbents, G.O.P. gains in November are expected to be minimal in the 435 races for the House of Representatives, the 34 contested Senate seats and the 36 governorships. "Opposition to government spending is everywhere," notes Political Consultant Walter DeVries. "Voters are listening to what the candidates are saying, but I suspect they think it doesn't make a lot of difference who they elect." Voters do not care which party cuts the budget, as long as it is done.

The main themes of the 1978 campaign—taxes, inflation, big government—were very much in evidence in last week's scattered primaries. Among the results:

- New York's Democratic Governor Hugh Carey won 52% of the vote in a contest with Lieutenant Governor Mary Anne Krupak and State Senator Jeremiah Bloom. Spending \$1.5 million—ten times as much as either of his opponents—Carey veered sharply to the right during the campaign, emphasizing his efforts to restore fiscal solvency to New York City and his modest state tax cuts. Though playing up his slight stiffening of the juvenile crime laws, he remained firmly opposed to capital punishment. This is the issue that will be stressed by his G.O.P. adversary, Long Island State Assemblyman

Perry Duryea, who expects to attract some normally Democratic votes in crime-ridden New York City.

- Connecticut's Democratic Governor Ella Grasso was also challenged by her Lieutenant Governor, Robert Killian, who said that he might consider a state income tax. Grasso countered that she would veto such a measure. She also pointed to three straight years of budget surpluses. She trounced Killian 2 to 1 and is favored to win in November against Republican Congressman Ronald Sarasin.
- Even liberal Minnesota was caught in the tax-cutting tide. In the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party's primary for Hubert Humphrey's Senate seat, Congressman Donald Fraser was narrowly defeated by a conservative millionaire businessman, Robert Short. Fraser was one of

Jim Thompson ponders in Carbondale, Ill.



the few Democratic candidates who still defended costly social programs. Short called Fraser's liberalism a "burden on the people" and urged a \$100 billion slash in the federal budget. Even the Republican Senate candidate, Dave Durenberger, is less of a budget cutter than Short, an indication of the upheaval in the once powerful D.F.L.

For political cynics, last week's most gratifying race took place in Nevada, where three candidates hotly competed for the state's one seat in the house of representatives. They all lost to a fourth candidate: the line on the ballot saying "None of the above." Elsewhere there were some more typical upsets:

- Milwaukee Congressman Robert Kasten seemed sure to win the G.O.P. gubernatorial primary in Wisconsin, but he was outcampaigning by Lee Dreyfus, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point. Calling himself a "Republocrat" and a "political virgin," Dreyfus won handily, even though the solid, conservative Kasten spent five times as much money.

- Former Maryland Transportation Secretary Harry Hughes was once so far behind in the Democratic gubernatorial primary that a Baltimore political boss called him "a lost ball in long grass." Then the Baltimore *Sun* endorsed him, citing his Mr. Clean image, and Hughes rose dramatically in voter esteem. Still, nobody, not even Hughes, could quite believe the returns that showed him edging out Acting Governor Blair Lee III, whose low-key campaign style earned him the nickname "Blah Lee."

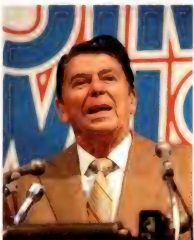
- Florida State Senator Robert Graham had only a 4% voter recognition when he decided to run for Governor. What to do? He worked at 100 different blue-collar jobs over the summer. Press coverage jumped as the perspiring millionaire real estate developer went from lugging lumber to cleaning bedpans to shoveling horse manure to fixing pipes. He finished a close second and will face Attorney General

Robert Shevin in a runoff on Oct. 10. Shevin is considered ahead, but he is running scared.

In many other states, the primaries are long past and candidates are into their election campaigns.

One of them has found that even the surefire tax issue has to be handled with at least a little care. Illinois Republican Governor Jim Thompson, who had been considered a shoo-in for re-election over Democratic State Comptroller Michael Bakalis, decided to get some extra mileage from the tax revolt by putting a non-binding proposition on the ballot asking voters if they wanted a ceiling on state taxes and spending. The proposition required 589,000 signatures in 35 days. Corners were cut by zealous party workers, who were paid \$100 for every 750 signatures collected. Names of the dead, the missing and the nonexistent appeared on the petitions, recalling nothing so much as the very Cook County practices that Thompson had prosecuted while state's attorney.

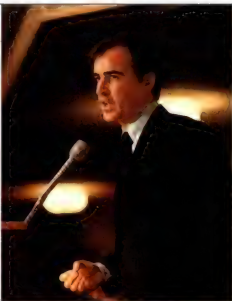
Thompson has not been personally implicated in the improprieties, but he



Ronald Reagan speaking in Shreveport, La. A bone-crushing political schedule.

certainly was embarrassed by them. Because of the uproar over the petitions, Bakalis is given a fighting chance of upsetting Thompson. At the very least, Thompson's chances for the 1980 G.O.P. presidential nomination have been damaged.

Calling himself a "born-again tax cutter," another presidential hopeful, California Governor Jerry Brown is making up for time that had been lost when he opposed Howard Jarvis' Proposition 13. The day it was overwhelmingly approved by California voters, Brown became an instant convert, explaining: "If you want a Governor who makes decisions, then you are going to get a Governor who makes mistakes." His Republican opponent, California Attorney General Evelle Younger, also had to make amends with



Jerry Brown at a meeting in Los Angeles

the voters since he too had been a lukewarm supporter of Proposition 13.

Brown is having less trouble with Younger, known as "mashed potatoes" because of his bland campaigning, than with his onetime liberal supporters. Asks Shirley Wechsler, executive director of Americans for Democratic Action in Southern California: "Why should the 20% of the electorate identifying themselves as liberals vote for the Jarvisized Democrats?" Brown replies evenly that it is possible to "move left and right at the same time."

Many Democratic candidates have been carefully and sometimes bluntly keeping their distance from the leader of their party, Jimmy Carter, because of his low rating in the polls, though this seems to be changing. An ABC-Harris poll last week gave him a 42% approval rating, up from 30% in August. In Texas, where the President is especially un-

popular because of his natural gas bill, Rosalynn made some campaign stops over Labor Day weekend, the first of several appearances scheduled for the First Lady this fall. Cool, poised and unflappable in the wilting Texas heat, she explained that the White House understood why local candidates had to take stands that appealed to their constituents. There were no hard feelings, she insisted, back in Washington.

That was quite a concession since one Democratic Senate candidate on whose behalf she came to Texas, Congressman Robert Krueger, has cast only a few more votes for the President's programs than has his opponent, G.O.P. Senator John Tower. But Krueger is friendlier than the Democratic candidate for Governor, John Hill, who refused to be even seen in public with Rosalynn. Earlier in the campaign, Hill's G.O.P. adversary, Drilling Contractor William Clements, had tossed a rubber chicken at him

during a banquet with the warning: "I'm gonna hang the Carter Administration around Hill's neck like a dead chicken."

With Carter far from popular, G.O.P. presidential hopefuls are using the 1978 campaign season as a kind of preliminary heat to 1980. The consensus among political experts is that Ronald Reagan, despite his 67 years and his many political scars, is out ahead. He plans 75 appearances in 25 states before the November election—a crushing schedule for any politician at any time of life. Reagan was trying to heal party wounds last week when he met with Gerald Ford, John Connally and other G.O.P. heavyweights at functions in Houston and Dallas. For the first time since their bit-



Hugh Carey

## Howard's Happy Days

What do you say to a jowly, gravel-voiced man of 76 who thinks he can become a star on TV? If his name is Howard Jarvis, co-author of California's Proposition 13, you don't say no. On Sept. 26, Jarvis takes his antitax crusade to national television with the goal of convincing millions of viewers that personal income taxes should be reduced by 25% and \$100 billion should be axed from the federal budget.

During the half-hour political spectacular, Howlin' Howard will trade fiscal quips with Robert Reed, a leading actor in *Roots* and *The Brady Bunch*. Jarvis will also respond to questions from a live audience. Other members of the tax-cutting cast include former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon and U.C.L.A. Economist Neil Jacoby. As relief from all the rhetoric, an animated cartoon will trace the history of the oppressed taxpayer from caveman times to the present. "Most people are not tuned in to political broadcasts," admits Stewart Mollrich, the show's writer. "The idea is to keep it lively."

So far, 130 TV stations have bumped their usual programs to run the Jarvis special. The Jarvis Bunch is spending \$500,000 for the show, including \$100,000 for promotion. If it is a hit, it may become a series. Consider the impact if that earlier tax revolt, the Boston Tea Party, could have been televised.

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One should really reflect again on that dimension—an 18-yard-high cube—this is the gold of 6000 years. No wonder it is precious; no wonder man seeks more of it.

As it is he goes deeper into the earth for gold than for anything else, in some places as far as two-and-a-half miles. There the temperature, despite fresh air circulation, reaches 130 degrees and rocks can explode spontaneously from the pressure of the earth above.

One might wonder how much more gold exists. Well, according to experts, there's not a lot. A recent estimate puts some 41,000 metric tons as the probably attainable reserve. This sounds like a large quantity but we must remember that gold is extremely heavy—a

cubic foot weighs about half a ton. Recovering this would add maybe another fifty percent to the block on this page. But not even that amount, at current usage, would prevent gold from being in critical supply before the end of this century.

World production has been in a general decline since the 1960's, and two countries now dominate it, South Africa with 49% and Russia with 30% in 1977. Canada is third with about 3¼% and the U.S., once the world's largest producer, is now fourth with just over 2¼%. The Russian output has been on the increase in recent years, so possession of the metal could take on a more strategic importance. In any event, it appears one day we will have to live with our short and precious supply.

According to scientists, gold exists on Mars, Mercury and Venus and also in the waters of our own oceans. The former is somewhat absurd to contemplate and the latter was judged financially impractical.

Another once seriously proposed idea to obtain gold contained an almost doomsday aspect. The idea was to drill, as one would for oil, some 2000 miles into the earth's molten core. This was abandoned mostly for reasons of cost and technical unfeasibility, but probably also because it ran a tremendous risk—that of creating the world's first man-made volcano.

*This advertisement is part of a series produced in the interest of a wider knowledge of man's most precious metal. For more information on gold, write to The Gold Information Center, Department TM2, P.O. Box 1269, FDR Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10022.*

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## The Gold Information Center.

## Nation

ter primary struggle for the presidency. Reagan and Ford exchanged compliments and laughed at each other's jokes.

Almost every Republican with presidential ambitions has been making the trek to New Hampshire, which holds the first primary in the nation (Feb. 26, 1980). Illinois Republican Philip Crane, so far the only declared G.O.P. presidential contender, has made half a dozen swings through the state. Some local Republicans have informed Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker that they would like to start organizing for him, but Baker is now concerned with winning re-election by a big margin in Tennessee. The moderates are ready to support Ford, but if he decides not to run, they are prepared to back former CIA Director George Bush.

One potential candidate who might catch on fast is New York Congressman Jack Kemp, co-sponsor of the Roth-Kemp bill, which would cut personal income taxes by 33% over a three-year period. He has been traveling around the country to test the political waters and has found them agreeable. "Kemp makes a striking appearance," says John Simms, executive director of the Mississippi G.O.P. "Even though he uses words like macroeconomics, his examples hit home. Besides, he has the hottest issue going."

Democratic aspirants must be more circumspect because a member of their own party is in the White House and has ample power to retaliate against upstarts. Though denying he is interested in the presidency, Ted Kennedy had been making all the appropriate moves in case he should change his mind. Kennedy is making sure he stays in the public eye. While attending a health conference in Russia, he met with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev and urged him to take steps to improve relations with the U.S. As Kennedy understood it, the Soviet boss agreed to review the cases of 18 families who have been refused permission to emigrate. Later, the Senator met with a group of dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov and the mother and brother of Anatoli Shcharansky, who has been sentenced to prison for his protests.

On returning to the U.S., Kennedy offered the Soviets by announcing the good news about the families at a press conference. *Pravda* retorted that "certain American politicians" who interfere in Soviet domestic affairs would be "resolutely turned down." That rebuff does not necessarily mean that the families will not eventually be allowed to leave, but it will be on Soviet terms—a reminder of the perils of mixing domestic politics with foreign policy.

At this point, Kennedy seems to be emerging as the Democratic alternative to Carter if the President's troubles increase in the months ahead. But whatever Kennedy does is still incidental. Ultimately, only Carter can make or break his presidency. ■

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## Nation

### Facing the Bad

#### Marina Oswald on the stand

When directed to give her name, the pencil-thin, brown-haired woman in the witness chair of a congressional hearing room said nervously: "Marina Prusakova Porter."

Asked a startled lawyer for the House Select Committee on Assassinations: "Have you also been known as Marina Oswald Porter?"

"Yes," she replied.

For 15 years, the widow of Lee Har-

lieve he did. I believe the man was capable of it." She also agreed with a suggestion from North Carolina Democrat Richardson Preyer that Oswald's motive was probably not political but a product of his own twisted ego. He would probably, she said, have gone after whoever was President at the time.

The committee also heard last week from an assassination buff, Advertising Man Jack White of Fort Worth, who has fed conspiracy theories for a decade by insisting that two famous snapshots of Oswald holding his rifle were fakes. Marina has said all along—and reiterated to the committee—that she had taken the pic-

body on this sort of evidence." Barger just shrugged.

There will undoubtedly be some people who will always believe a fourth shot was fired. But at the halfway point of the monthlong hearings on the Kennedy assassination, the overwhelming weight of evidence heard by the committee points to the same conclusion reached by the Warren Commission: Oswald, acting alone, killed Kennedy. ■

### Cleaning House

#### Two more Congressmen are accused of taking payoffs

The action of the House ethics committee was unusually swift, especially for that panel. By a unanimous vote, after a persuasive presentation by its staff, the committee last week charged Pennsylvania Democrat Joshua Eilberg of illegally pocketing \$100,000 in legal fees in connection with his efforts to get a \$14.5 million federal grant for Philadelphia's Hahnemann Hospital.

What Eilberg allegedly did was a direct violation of the law and of House rules accepting outside money for legislative duties. And the evidence, says a committee source, "was right there on the table." The charges are serious enough that if they are proved at a hearing that could begin next month, Eilberg could be ousted from Congress.

Eilberg, who denies the charges, was the Congressman who called President Carter ten months ago and successfully expedited the removal of David Marston as U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia. Marston was conducting an investigation into the same charges. That probe is continuing, in close cooperation with the ethics committee, and a Justice Department official said an indictment could come "in a matter of weeks." Eilberg's Pennsylvania colleague in the House, Daniel Flood, who was indicted earlier this month on perjury charges in another case, is also being investigated for his activities on behalf of the hospital.

The committee was far less energetic in opening hearings on California Democrat Edward Roybal, one of four Congressmen accused of taking illegal payments from Korean Rice Dealer Tongson Park. Roybal has given the committee two highly damaging sworn depositions about the matter. In one he denied ever receiving money from Park. When that proved false, he said in the second statement that he turned the \$1,000 over to his campaign director for election expenses. Roybal actually pocketed the cash, investigators claim. If so, he too could be expelled from the House on the recommendation of the ethics committee. If such action is not taken, says one investigator, "Congress is saying it's O.K. for witnesses to lie under oath." ■



The assassin's widow testifying about him before a House committee

"All of a sudden, I realized that his rifle was not just a manly hobby."

vey Oswald has been trying to "forget the bad things." But last week, testifying for the first time in public about President Kennedy's assassin, she recounted their life together, from the day they met at a dance in Minsk to the time of his death, two days after he killed Kennedy.

Speaking in uncertain English, she portrayed Oswald as a moody, volatile man. Oswald, she said, had few friends and was never visited by strangers or even in touch with anyone who could be suspected of being a fellow conspirator. "He liked to be alone by himself," she said.

She described how he had told her about shooting at, and missing, right-wing General Edwin Walker in April 1963. Said she: "All of a sudden, I realized that it was not just a manly hobby he had of possessing a rifle. It seemed like he was capable of killing someone with it." She recalled how she had locked him in the bathroom after he spoke of wanting to kill Richard Nixon that same month, and she remembered the morning of Nov. 22, 1963, when he told her not to bother cooking breakfast and then left early for the Texas School Book Depository.

When asked if her husband killed the President, she said softly: "Yes. I do be-

lieve he did. I believe the man was capable of it." She also agreed with a suggestion from North Carolina Democrat Richardson Preyer that Oswald's motive was probably not political but a product of his own twisted ego. He would probably, she said, have gone after whoever was President at the time.

Other experts gave testimony supporting the "single bullet theory," that one bullet fired by Oswald hit both Kennedy and former Texas Governor John Connally. Engineer Tom Canning of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said the two were so seated in the car that a trajectory traced from their bodies led to the sixth floor of the book depository, where investigators have established Oswald was perched with his rifle.

Another witness, Sound Expert James Barger, told the committee how he had recreated a series of shots at the Dallas site and compared them with a police tape recording of the 1963 shooting. Barger startled the Congressmen by saying there could have been four shots, and thus a second gunman. But when pressed, he said there was only a fifty-fifty chance that four shots could have been fired. Further, he said his finding could be the result of random statistical error. When Michigan Republican Harold Sawyer grumbled, "I'd hate to sue anybody or prosecute any-



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## Nation

### Dismay at GSA

*An investigator says a former official undermined a probe*

**"A** good man with great integrity and great knowledge." These words were used by Jimmy Carter last month to describe Robert Griffin, who had been fired in July as second in command of the scandal-ridden General Services Administration and given a \$50,000-a-year consolation prize as assistant to Anti-Inflation czar Robert Strauss. Griffin, the President said, had not been tainted by the widespread corruption that investigators have unearthed at the GSA, which spends \$5 billion a year to provide federal bureaucrats with office space, supplies and housekeeping services. The cause for Griffin's dismissal was said to be only a personality conflict with his boss, GSA Administrator Jay Solomon.

But TIME last week learned that a memorandum drafted in August by GSA Special Counsel for Investigation Vincent Alto raises questions about Griffin's conduct at the GSA. The memo describes Griffin as trying in 1975 and 1976 to undermine the GSA's efforts to crack down on corruption and as harassing a GSA employee who would not go along.

According to the memo, Griffin tried to persuade Chief Investigator William Clinkscales to conduct "bootleg investigations" of which no official record was made. When Clinkscales refused, Alto's memo said, Griffin ordered that he be transferred to another job and demoted.

The order was supposed to be carried out by GSA Personnel Officer Al Petrillo. He sent Clinkscales a notice that he was being transferred to Fort Worth. But Petrillo later had second thoughts about the transfer, which he felt violated GSA per-

sonnel rules, and canceled it. At the same time, Petrillo submitted his own resignation, but it was rejected by his boss, GSA Director of Administration G.C. Gardner.

In retaliation, Griffin began a campaign of harassment against Petrillo; according to the memo Petrillo was subjected to "duress and coercion wrought by GSA experts from whom the KGB could learn valuable techniques." Over several months, Petrillo was stripped of his authority and warned that "his situation would get worse." In December 1976 he resigned again and filed a grievance with the Civil Service Commission.

In what the memo implies was an attempt to induce Petrillo to drop the case, Griffin next offered him a lower paying job in the GSA's Federal Supply Service. Petrillo took it but refused to cancel his complaint. Thereafter, the harassment of Petrillo increased. "Not a single piece of paper crossed my desk for eight months," he says. Finally, he asked to be transferred to a new job, even though his salary would be cut by \$5,000. But when he was told that he would have to pay his own moving expenses, he decided not to take the job. Meanwhile, a civil service administrative judge dismissed Petrillo's grievance, after GSA lawyers filed 150 objections to the charges. Recently, he was named by Solomon to be personnel officer for the National Archives.

Griffin angrily dismissed the allegations in Alto's memo as false. Said he: "I never pressured anybody. There was no effort by me to drive anybody out of any agency at any time." With the Carter Administration pressing for investigators to net some "bigger fish," and Republicans clamoring for an independent probe of the growing fraud and mismanagement scandal, the charges are certain to be thoroughly aired in the next round of Senate hearings on the GSA shenanigans that opens this week.



Former Ambassador Graham Martin

### Misfiled Secrets

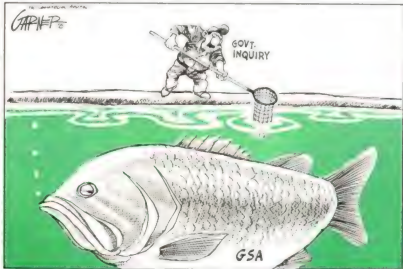
*A strange trip from Saigon to Winston-Salem*

**S**oon after police in Winston-Salem, N.C., were notified last December that a 1973 Fiat had been stolen, they found the car stuck in the mud off a country road. Missing were the battery, a tape player and a black footlocker that had been in the trunk. The case looked routine until a few days later when children walking on a roadside a few miles away found the footlocker with its lock broken and its contents—papers and notebooks—scattered through the underbrush. Last week the Justice Department disclosed that the documents included top secret copies of communications between Washington and the U.S. Embassy in Saigon from 1963 to 1975, and that the FBI for months has been quietly investigating the car's owner, former Career Diplomat Graham Martin, 65.

Martin was U.S. Ambassador to South Viet Nam from the summer of 1973 until Saigon's capture by Communist troops in April 1975. He was later criticized, most recently by former CIA Officer Frank Snepp in his book *Decent Interval*, for mishandling the evacuation of Americans and Vietnamese supporters from Saigon. Soon after Martin returned to Washington, he retired.

Martin insists there was no impropriety in his obtaining the papers or keeping them. He claims that a number of people, including former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, knew that he had them. Some federal officials speculate that Martin retained the documents just in case he had to defend his Saigon performance against critics.

"Sheer nonsense," retorted Martin to



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speculation that he was preparing a defense. Last week from the Winston-Salem hospital bed where he is recovering from surgery for lung cancer, Martin also maintained that keeping the papers secret is no longer required by national security. "Viet Nam is over," he said. "There is nothing that could possibly hurt the security of the United States. Here is a personal, single collection of communications dating back to the days of Ambassador

Henry Cabot Lodge. They would be of value to future historians."

Martin said that he took the papers out of Saigon at the last minute and put them in a U.S. Justice Department office in Rome, where he had once served as ambassador. Last December he flew back to Rome to retrieve the documents. After returning to Washington, he drove home with them to Winston-Salem and simply had not got around to unloading the trunk.

His intention, he said, was to give the papers to the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, after he had finished annotating them.

Although the Justice Department could conceivably charge Martin with violating the U.S. Code for "gathering, transmitting or losing defense information," it probably will not. The FBI's conclusion: the case against the careless diplomat should be dropped. ■

## Americana



### The Nose Knows

Think your job stinks? Consider the poor students at the University of Illinois College of Agriculture in Champaign. They have no choice but to agree. About 100 scent-sensitive enrollees are trying to make ends meet by taking part in a study sponsored by the Illinois Pork Producers—one aiming to produce a deodorant that will mask the smell of pig manure and make life more bearable for neighbors and livestock workers.

The students have been recruited for their snouts. For \$1, they sniff a gauze-covered black jar containing either treated manure or the real thing straight from the pig. The odor is rated on a scale of one to ten, ten being malodorous enough to blow off your socks. No students are getting rich on the deal. Experts hold that the nose gets desensitized after too much exposure to such powerful smells. The daily limit: nine sniffs.

### Moonlooting

As the principal of Upper Merion High School in suburban Philadelphia and, more recently, a \$30,000-a-year coordinator of school services, Jay Smith, 50, carved a name for himself as a tough administrator. An Army Reserve colonel, he was known as a no-nonsense expert on school discipline who once advocated expelling 60 "dangerous" students because of their "criminalistic" behavior.

According to police, Smith's knowl-

edge of such behavior may have been more than academic. Last month he was caught allegedly breaking into a parked van and brandishing a gun to boot. When cops searched his car, they found a mask, guns and burglar's tools. The next day a longtime friend of Smith's, Harold Jones Jr., a librarian for a Philadelphia high school, was arrested leaving Smith's house with several pounds of marijuana. Subsequently, another county charged Smith with stealing \$53,000 from a Sears, Roebuck store last year.

Smith and Jones (real names, the police insist) face numerous charges, most aimed at Smith. Free on bail and awaiting trial, Smith, who claims that it is all a setup, is working on a manuscript about single life and leisure-time activities. If convicted, he could have lots of time for firsthand research.

### Good Intentions

Congress in 1975 gave Americans the right to find out what information is kept on them in Government files. However laudable the law's purpose, some of the Freedom of Information Act's most avid users have turned out to be criminals. Last month Convicted Felon Gary Bowdach told a Senate subcommittee that he had filed "scores" of FOI requests with the FBI for himself and fellow inmates at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta "to try to identify informants." Why? "To eradicate them," Bowdach replied.

Indeed, of the 60,000 FOI requests processed by the bureau, about 2,500 of them have come from curious criminals. In one city, which FBI officials refuse to name, 30 organized crime figures—the *Who's*

*Who* of the area's underworld—filed FOI forms. The Drug Enforcement Administration has received requests for Government information from, among others, Mafiosi Carlos Marcello of New Orleans, Rene Picaretto of Buffalo, and Carmine Persico of Brooklyn.

The FBI and DEA carefully blot out names and other clues to informants' identities but cannot otherwise refuse criminals' requests. Under the law, they have the same right as any other citizen to find out what is in Government files about them and to correct any misinformation.



### High Living

At least seven times in the past two months, a thief has broken into the district attorney's office in Sequoyah County, Okla., sniffed out the marijuana cache kept in plastic evidence bags, and made off with some of the weed. The intruder has never been seen, but police think they have a pretty accurate description: stands 3 in. tall, weighs about an ounce, has slick brown hair, beady little eyes and a long tail, is prone to staggering, even on four feet.

The culprit has been dubbed "Marijuana Mouse," alias "Happy." Delirious would be more like it. Three times the D.A.'s staff set traps for the mouse, and three times the little felon made off with the bait—more marijuana. Why not try cheese? Says Linda Callahan, the D.A.'s secretary: "We give him what he wants." No dope, that rodent. Nope, no dope at all.



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## World

NICARAGUA

# Revolution of the Scarves

*Opposition to Tacho Somoza finally erupts into all-out fighting*

**"I**t's civil war. Somoza has to go." The teen-age girl shouting anti-government slogans in the battered town of Masaya last week hardly looked like a revolutionary. But, as upon countless others, revolution had been thrust upon her. An overwhelming number of Nicaragua's 2.6 million people had come face to face with something most of them had long anticipated and feared—civil war.

Leading the fighting was the small but deadly Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which has been waging a battle against the entrenched regime of President Anastasio ("Tacho") Somoza Debayle, 52. Last month, in a daring attack on Managua's National Palace, the Sandinistas took 1,500 hostages and forced Tacho to ransom them back for \$500,000 in cash and the release of 59 political prisoners. Next, the well-armed Marxist guerrillas staged a pitched battle against Somoza's National Guard in the coffee and cattle town of Matagalpa. Finally the Sandinistas raised the stakes to civil war by launching coordinated attacks against guard posts in widely scattered cities and towns: in the capital itself, Managua; in Masaya, 20 miles southeast of the capital; in the pleasant coffee town of Diriamba, 28 miles south; in León, Nicaragua's second largest city; in Chinandega; and in Esteli, on the Pan American Highway in the north.

Fighting back, Nicaragua's longtime dictator last week declared martial law, a familiar tactic of troubled governments (see page 40). Somoza instructed his tough, 8,100-member National Guard to destroy the rebel forces and end the uprising. Guard units set out to rescue the embattled towns; in the south at Sapoá and Peña Blanca, they also violated the Costa Rican border in hot pursuit of Sandinistas. After a week of steady fighting, the conflict had taken on the proportions of a bloodbath, and U.S. diplomats met hastily with the government to speed the evacuation of a reported 1,500 Americans caught in the fighting.

In each place where the Sandinistas struck, National Guard posts were the principal target. In Esteli, beleaguered guardsmen protected themselves by holding twelve of the town's leading citizens hostage. And in Monimbo, an Indian

barrio of 12,000 people on the outskirts of Masaya, angry rebels who have been battling the National Guard almost daily since February finally overran the local *guardia* station and slaughtered its two officers and a dozen enlisted men.

Ominously for the Somoza regime, the Sandinistas were not the only force that had risen. As soon as the guerrillas' well-planned attacks began, they were sponta-

neously joined by other youths—"los muchachos" (the boys), townspeople called them—and even by older men and women wielding their own hunting rifles and automatic weapons grabbed from the hands of fallen members of the *guardia*. Copying the Sandinistas, the new rebels tied handkerchiefs over their faces to avoid identification. Their fight, as a result, soon was dubbed "The Revolution of the Scarves."

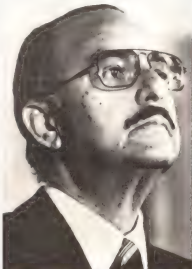
The National Guard, increasingly trigger-nervous as the widespread support for the Sandinistas became apparent, tried to prevent newsmen from following the war. But TIME Mexico City Bureau Chief Bernard Diederich, a veteran of Central American conflict, slipped into Masaya. His report:

"Two days after the Sandinista attack, the *guardia* launched a counteroffensive, and the centuries-old town of 45,000 people was sealed tight for three days without water, food or electricity. As in other towns, like Esteli, people were finally forced to scoop up water from puddles in the street. 'We have been living for days on the floor. All this shooting, my God. Hail Mary!' moaned one old woman as she peaced on her patio fingering her rosary beads.

"Not only was there shooting but many of the low adobe buildings, including 50 stores and the 87-year-old central market, were burned out. The buildings caught fire when *los muchachos* inexpertly

hurled Molotov cocktails at the *guardia*. But most Masayans appeared forgiving. When one man complained that his car had been incinerated by the inept bomb-throwers, another said, 'We must make sacrifices if Somoza is to go.' The crowd around them agreed.

"How many had died, no one knew. Said a young man carrying a flour sack as a white flag—a safety device quickly adopted by the populace: 'Everyone is burying the dead in backyard patios or gardens, wherever they fall or wherever there is soil. I helped bury five today.' At one government-owned building where Somoza's picture was displayed, someone had pasted a red-and-black flag of the FSLN on the wall outside. Infuriated guardsmen drove an armored car into the building, plastered the place with bullets and tear gas.



Somoza at press conference last week





**Havoc in Masaya (from top):** Sandinistas with "muchachos" flee a burning gasoline tank truck, and seek out defensive positions

and shot down Maria Jesús Gadea, 32, as she stood protectively over her four terrified children. The dead woman's two teen-age daughters scooped a shallow grave in the patio near by for their mother.

"No one ran in Masaya. 'To run is to commit suicide,' explained one man. As I walked out of the city I was halted by the *guardia* sweating in their U.S.-supplied flak jackets. They were frightening, because one could see that they were frightened. On the grass was a well-dressed youth who had just been hauled out of a house. A soldier stood with his rifle pointed at the young man's head. Tears rolled down the boy's face. He looked like someone who knew he was going to die. An elderly soldier examined my press credentials and ordered me to leave Masaya. The guard did not want any witnesses."

Ironically, the civil war erupted just as the country prepared for Independence Day, the annual celebration on Sept. 15 of the break by Nicaragua and other Central American states from Spanish rule in 1821. Somoza, directing the war from a windowless bunker at National Guard headquarters overlooking Managua, marked the day with a champagne reception that U.S. Ambassador Mauricio Solana declined to attend. The Sandinistas promptly labeled this year's observance Second Independence Day. But neither side could really celebrate a victory in one of the most savage and confusing wars that Central America has ever seen. Each side predictably deflated its own casualties and exaggerated the number of those on the other side. The Nicaraguan Red Cross, whose members heroically retrieved the dead and wounded and res-



## World



Rosa Gadea and her sister Esmeralda beside the grave they made for their mother in Masaya. Inside, a picture of Somoza, outside the flag—and a civil war marked another casualty.

cued refugees in the midst of the shooting, estimated at week's end that at least 500 people had been killed and as many more wounded in the initial fighting. Most of the casualties appeared to be civilians like Maria Jesus Gadea.

At least four of the dead were decidedly not civilians. Brigadier General Jose Ivan Alegretti, 47, the guard's tough chief of operations, who was openly contemptuous of Somoza for having capitulated to the Sandinistas at the National Palace last month, died when the plane he was pi-

loting crashed near the Costa Rican border. Killed with Alegretti were three of half a dozen foreign mercenaries employed by Somoza to train the guard. One of these was an American known in Managua as Mike the Mercenary. When news of the death of the most hated guard officer spread through Managua's Intercontinental Hotel, few people mourned. "Great! Wonderful!" shouted one woman. "The bastard is dead!"

From his bunker, West Point Graduate Somoza, whose favorite pastime is

watching war movies, called for more mercenaries. Newspaper ads suddenly appeared in the U.S. Southwest: "Ex-Marine combat veterans needed to fight Communist takeover in Central America." An Albuquerque recruiter, Guy Galdon, quickly signed up his quota of 100 men and asked Managua for permission to enroll more. Somoza also ordered up his own National Guard reserves. Reportedly, he did so with reluctance because of suspicions that they might not otherwise remain loyal and turn over arms to the rebels. In any case, Somoza needed the extra help. His regular guard forces were said to be spread so thin that some were taking Dextro-drine to stay awake and were so distraught that they shot civilians and even unarmed Red Cross teams.

**S**omoza boasted that his side had already won. Even if that were so, he may have lost the larger war. Two weeks before the fighting began, 15 opposition political parties, labor groups and business organizations, banded into a "Broad Opposition Front," mounted a general strike to force the Somoza family out of power. The strike had a quick effect since the participants controlled 75% of the nation's industry and 90% of its commerce. Last week, in a further show of unity, the front, joined by the Sandinistas, called on five friendly Latin American nations to mediate a cease-fire; the front itself refused to deal directly with Somoza and demanded that he and his family leave the country. It further proposed—when Somoza is gone—a provisional democratic junta and offered three possible "representatives": Industrialist Alfonso Robelo Callejas, 38, Lawyer-Writer Sergio Ramirez Mercado, 36, and Lawyer Rafael Cordova Rivas, 44, who had helped establish the foremost anti-Somoza political coalition, UDEI (Democratic Liberation Union).

The U.S., meanwhile, had cut off military aid for Somoza and was seeking to bring the Broad Opposition Front and the government together in hopes of finding a "Nicaraguan solution." Explained a State Department official: "We're trying to avoid any 'U.S. solution.' If we were to suggest that Somoza should take a three-month vacation, that's exactly what Somoza's people would do—and then say that this was what the Americans told them to do." But Nicaraguan opposition leaders demanded more substantial U.S. support than that; for example, a cut in \$11 million worth of food, health and education loans that they maintain have mostly benefited Somoza's politicians. Said one Conservative Party spokesman acidly: "Somoza is part of the American system, not ours." Added Conservative Congressman Eduardo Chamorro Cornel, 44, referring to the American military force that installed Somoza's father in power in 1933: "Somoza is the last Marine."



Shocked woman trundles body of a dead anti-Somoza rebel along Masaya street for burial. White flags were a safety measure, and to run was to commit suicide.

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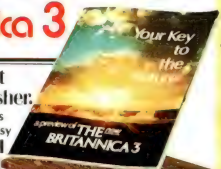
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## World

IRAN

### Second Thoughts—and Chances

*The Shah plots a careful course to keep the peace*

**P**olitics and nature combined to batter Iran cruelly last week. In a mountainous farm region in eastern Iran, the strongest earthquake recorded anywhere in 1978 reduced villages to what one survivor called "a mound of rubble, bent iron beams and dirt." At least 9,000 were feared dead in the quake, which measured 7.7 on the Richter scale and was centered near the town of Tabas.

Even before the quake struck, mourners were a common sight as families buried the victims killed two weeks ago during protests against the regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Martial law prevailed, and troops and tanks patrolled the streets of Tehran and eleven other cities to enforce a rigid 10 p.m.-to-5 a.m. curfew. At least eight curfew violators were shot dead for failing to heed orders to stop. Six soldiers and a civilian died in a fire fight in Tabriz after saboteurs attacked their patrol. Security was tightened around the offices and refineries of the giant National Iranian Oil Company to prevent sabotage, but so far there was no open challenge by radical elements to the government's get-tough action.

The Shah, facing the gravest threat to his throne in a quarter of a century, moved swiftly to quell the opposition that has been building against his regime over the past nine months. His policy was twofold: 1) to punish corrupt officials and subversives and 2) to demonstrate convincingly that Tehran's springtime of political liberalization, begun only a month ago, would continue.

In the crackdown on corruption, police arrested a dozen businessmen and former top government officials suspected of embezzlement, land frauds and misappropriations of government funds. The widespread incidence of such corruption was one of the major complaints of opponents of the regime—most notably the religious mullahs (leaders) of the Shi'ite Muslim sect. Among those arrested were three former Cabinet ministers (agriculture, trade and health), and Hojatzadeh, who is one of Iran's richest businessmen. A thousand other businessmen were advised that they would not be allowed to leave the country. Said an Iranian banker "It looks like the crash of the crooks."

At the same time, more than 300 political prisoners, most of them openly Marxist, were released from jail. Said one prisoner on his release "They let us out fast so they'd have room for all the fat cats." Several hundred other political dissidents, including the head of the Iranian

Committee for Human Rights and his deputy and two mullahs—one with a bank account of \$1.5 million—were charged with seeking to overthrow the Shah.

In a speech to the lower house of parliament, the Shah's new Premier, Jaafar Sharif-Emami, conceded that Iran was "paying a price" for the manner in which its economic programs had been conducted. The Premier promised that the government's liberalization program, under which no fewer than 40 political parties have formed, would result in new "political freedoms and social justice." The government promised to allow the parties time to organize and campaign before next June's promised elections.



Tank in downtown Tehran; below, open graves for slain demonstrators



The Premier also easily won a vote of confidence on the Shah's program of modernization and reforms, but not before the tiny, vocal parliamentary opposition turned the session into a free-wheeling discussion of grievances. In an impassioned speech, Ali Asghar Mazhari, an independent deputy, evoked cheers and tears with a stinging—and what a short time ago would have been unthinkable—rebuke to the Shah. "While the majority of the people may have been silent, this did not mean they were stupid and did not know what was going on," said Mazhari. "They knew. And they will continue to protest until you begin to respect them for their true worth and until the rule of law prevails. They do not want the most expensive life on the face of the earth. They want justice."

In a new mood of humility, the Shah launched a campaign of reconciliation with his religious opponents. He brought home his ambassador to the U.S., Ardeshir Zahedi, to open a dialogue with dissident mullahs. Sharif-Emami was expected to call this week on Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, 76, the religious teacher who is regarded as the most powerful spokesman for the Shi'ite opposition. In addition, Ayatollah Khomeini, 80, a popular mullah exiled in Iraq since 1963, might be permitted to return home if he disavows the overthrow of the Shah.

Faced with the failure of his technocrats, the Shah sought the advice of some of the country's leading intellectuals, scholars and sociologists. They reminded him that for an Islamic nation like Iran, people must feel that justice has been served. The Shah also feels that martial law, though technically imposed for six months, should end as soon as possible. If not, warned an intellectual, many dissidents might be driven underground and try to "keep things blowing sky high."

Even as controversy raged over how many died the week before in protests (the official figure is 98, but there is a widespread belief that at least several hundred were killed, and some claim as many as 2,000), families of the victims gathered at gravesides, where soldiers kept watch. After the services, the mourners dispersed in small groups of three as ordered. "They can pray, they can bury, but they can't demonstrate," said a colonel.

For Iranian students abroad, there were no such restrictions. Demonstrators in Rome and London fasted to protest the Shah's policies, while masked protesters in Paris, San Francisco, New York City, Los Angeles and in front of the White House in Washington took to the streets to bring what they called "the true nature of the Iranian people's uprising" to the world's attention. It will be some time before Iran's springtime is reality. ■



## World



Smith shaking hands with descendants of early settlers during Pioneer Day celebration

RHODESIA

### "The Only Way Left Is War"

*There is not likely to be a Pioneer Day next year in Zimbabwe*

The two leaders of the Patriotic Front guerrillas who are fighting for black rule in Rhodesia, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, flew separately last week to Addis Ababa. There they helped Ethiopia's Marxist military rulers celebrate the fourth anniversary of the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie I. More important, from Nkomo's and Mugabe's point of view, they had a chance to confer at length with visiting Cuban President Fidel Castro, one of their principal supporters in the six-year-old war against the Salisbury regime.

The meeting of Castro with the Patriotic Front leaders was the latest in a series of disturbing developments in the Rhodesian debacle. Two weeks ago there was the shooting down by Nkomo's guerrillas of a Rhodesian civil airliner with a Soviet-supplied ground-to-air missile. Anger and revulsion swept the white community, and this time Prime Minister Ian Smith was included as a target of white criticism, because he had secretly conferred with Nkomo in Zambia in mid-August.

Smith had offered, in effect, to set Nkomo up as the first leader of black-ruled Zimbabwe if Nkomo would join the interim government in Salisbury and thus help to bring an end to the fighting. After the airliner incident and subsequent atrocity, whites called for martial law, general mobilization and attacks on guerrilla camps in Zambia.

At first, both Smith and Nkomo

seemed to be trying to calm things down. Smith promised merely a "modified" martial law and rejected the idea of general mobilization as an unnecessary burden on the country's economy; most young whites spend six months a year in the armed forces anyway.

But Smith did pledge to "liquidate" those organizations inside Rhodesia that were associated with the external guerrilla movements. Until now, his government had boasted about its release of political detainees and the freedoms enjoyed in Rhodesia by Patriotic Front civilian sympathizers. But no more. By midweek the government had arrested more than 200 blacks thought to be linked to the guerrillas and detained them without trial. As he tried to rally his white constituency, Smith raged that Nkomo, who had readily accepted responsibility for the destruction of the Rhodesian airplane, was "a monster" who had gone "beyond the pale."

From his base in Zambia, Nkomo announced that the plan for an all-parties conference on Rhodesia, long advocated by Britain and the U.S., was "dead and buried" and that "the only way left is war." He again sought to justify the destruction of the airliner. "Having about 40 people killed in a plane crash is not pleasant," he said. "We are not rejoicing over death. But the Rhodesian armed forces are killing 30 to 40 of our people a day."

In view of these "deliberate massacres," added Nkomo, "we cannot contemplate working with them. I don't think there will be a place for them in Zimbabwe."

Indeed, there was plenty of evidence that Nkomo and his colleagues were preparing for a long war. Last week TIME's John Borrell became one of the first Western journalists to visit one of Nkomo's camps in Zambia. Besides an estimated 10,000 fully trained guerrillas in Nkomo's army, hundreds more are arriving weekly by way of neighboring Botswana. The newcomers are screened and given some rudimentary training at a major transit camp in Zambia before being sent on to Angola or Eastern Europe for further instruction. Nkomo heatedly denies Rhodesian charges that the young blacks are forced to join his organization at gunpoint. "That's just nonsense," he says. "We have more people than we need or can cope with efficiently."

And so it seemed. "As Nkomo arrived at the spartan camp," reported Borrell, "thousands of young men in tattered clothing stood stiffly at attention, shouldering wooden staves as substitutes for the Soviet Kalashnikov rifles they will later carry. We watched as company-size units jogged in formation to the center of a parade ground, then formed a huge square around Nkomo. 'Z!' he shouted to the group, by way of greeting. 'Zimbabwe!' came the response from perhaps 6,000 voices."

The growing military threat was reason enough for both London and Washington to continue pressing the Salisbury government and the Patriotic Front to agree to attend an all-parties conference before the end of the year. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and the other front-line Presidents, who have been working jointly for a Rhodesian settlement, still favor such a conference. So does Robert Mugabe, Nkomo's somewhat estranged partner in the Patriotic Front. Mugabe is not nearly as popular a political figure as Nkomo, but because he controls at least two-thirds of the guerrillas who are fighting inside Rhodesia, he must obviously be a party to any successful settlement.

Whether that conference will ever take place was still the central question last week as white Rhodesians paused to celebrate the 88th anniversary of the founding of Fort Salisbury on the site of the modern capital. When Ian Smith arrived for the celebration at Cecil Square, one man shouted "Good old Smithy! Some of us are still behind you!" No doubt that was true, though it was hard to tell from the tepid applause.

During the service a few wept, but the majority stood in stoic silence. They were convinced that, whatever happens, this celebration would be the last of its kind; there is not likely to be a white Pioneer Day next year in black Zimbabwe. ■





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New York City police fighting demonstrators during 1863 Draft Riots; Filipino police breaking up 1976 protest in Manila against martial law

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

## An Outbreak of Martial Law

*The problem of maintaining order—but not too much*

In countries as diverse as Iran, Nicaragua and Rhodesia, the first response of the three beleaguered governments to civil emergencies this month was to impose martial law. In Rhodesia this meant little, since the country had been under military control since the guerrilla war began six years ago. In Iran the Shah's declaration brought a clampdown on civil liberties and empowered the army to arrest without charges and to invade homes without warrants. In Nicaragua martial law merely underscored Anastasio Somoza's desperate situation. Said a Managua businessman: "Martial law here is simply a license to kill."

Though definitions vary, martial law means far more than simple military rule. In most cases it is a response to a national or regional emergency during which constitutional guarantees are suspended and civilian control is superseded by that of the military. Martial law is generally more serious than a state of emergency or a state of siege, and more comprehensive than a suspension of habeas corpus or an imposition of preventive detention. It is both a political and a psychological device, which implies that authority begins at the trigger of a gun. In effect, says Farooq Hassan, a Pakistani legal scholar now teaching at American University in Washington, D.C., "martial law is a political weapon to show the public that, no matter how unpopular the regime in power, it still has the support of the army."

In Britain, martial law was abolished in 1628, though in modern times the government has occasionally invoked emergency regulations, particularly in the colonies—"in accordance," as one British legal expert put it, "with the standard of civilization of the states involved." Thus district commissioners sometimes had the power to administer justice, and preventive detention laws became part of the heritage of colonialism. Emergency powers, first enacted in 1920, were given the

army in Northern Ireland in 1973. But at home the British did not use martial law even during the worst days of the World Wars. Their view, at least since 1628, has been that governments must have the power to maintain order, but preferably no more power than necessary.

In the U.S., martial law is not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. President Washington chose to limit the use of military power when, after dispatching troops to quell the Whisky Rebellion of 1794, he ordered all insurgents to be turned over to civil rather than military courts for trial. But during the Civil War, as he struggled to hold the nation together, President Lincoln introduced preventive detention and military justice for thousands who opposed the war, including hundreds arrested in the bloody Draft Riots in New York City and elsewhere. This amounted to an imposition of martial law. In a landmark judgment, Chief Justice Roger Taney threw out the case of one John Merryman, a Southern sympathizer who had been convicted of treason by a military court. Merryman appealed to Justice Taney, who found that Lincoln had sought to suspend habeas corpus when it was "perfectly clear under the Constitution that he had no such power." In a subsequent Civil War case, the Supreme Court found that the military had had no business trying a political agitator named Lambdin Milligan in Indiana when civil courts were functioning in the area at the time.

Third World governments use a variety of names for their emergency powers. The Philippines has had full martial law since 1972, when President Ferdinand Marcos arrested hundreds of opponents and began to rule by decree. Marcos recently told a group of international lawyers that his people were more concerned about food than freedom anyway. "The bottom line of that argument," observes New York University Law School Professor Thomas Franck, "is that the sus-

pension of political rights is a way to increase economic rights." So far, martial law has kept Marcos in power and accomplished not a great deal more. "The trouble with martial law," laments a Filipino dissident who originally supported Marcos, "is that there is no recourse."

South Korea's Park Chung-Hee has twice used martial law as a means of crushing dissent. Taiwan has never done so, but under a 30-year-old state of emergency the government can detain suspected opponents and try them in secret military courts. During the first year of Chile's state of siege following the 1973 overthrow of Marxist President Salvador Allende, an estimated 33,000 people disappeared or were killed. Pakistan is ruled by a "martial law administrator," General Zia ul-Haq, though his ministries are now headed by civilians. Nigeria, Ghana and Sudan all have military regimes, but normal legal institutions are still working. Even in Idi Amin's Uganda, civilian courts operate, though judges ruling contrary to Big Daddy's wishes could well end up floating down the Nile.

The concept of martial law has meaning only when applied to a country that pays at least theoretical respect to the protection of human rights. In China there is no martial law, but neither does the populace enjoy most of the rights that could be jeopardized by martial law. In the Soviet Union, civilian authority as embodied in the Communist Party is all-powerful. The country has an intricate court system, and much attention is paid to what is called "socialist legality," but this is not to be confused with the Western concept of the rule of law. As the founder of Stalin's legal system, Andrei Vyshinsky, wrote in 1937: "The formal law is subordinate to the law of the Revolution." This helpful dictum enables the party to interfere selectively with the legal process, but what occurs is not called martial law. Thus, while the Soviet constitution enshrines most basic human rights, reality is quite another matter. "I was in Prague when the Soviets arrived in 1968," recalls Professor Hassan. "I saw people throw tomatoes at tanks. Where force is, the law can do nothing."

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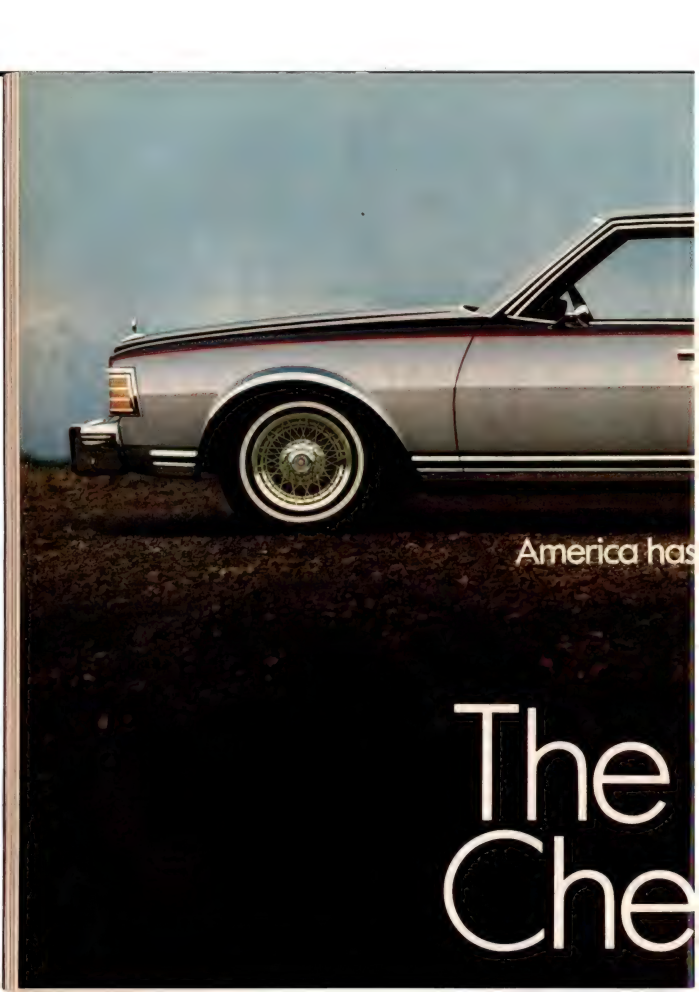


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## World

FRANCE

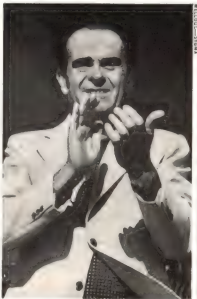
### Pique-nic

*Marchais eats a few words*

**A**round the bend of the roller coaster, a booth peddled oysters, glasses of chilled Muscadet and posters decrying Brittany's disastrous oil spill of last spring. With a fine Gallic disdain for international worker solidarity, another food kiosk sold sangria and the message: SPAIN IN THE COMMON MARKET. A BAD BLOW FOR FRANCE. Workers hawked dish towels underneath a sign pleading SAVE THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE VOSGES. Break-the-bottle games featured images of such popular villains as French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, that advocate of dreaded social democracy.

In short, the French Communist Party's 42nd *Fête de l'Humanité* last week was outwardly the same as always. Part county fair, part political convention, the annual get-together is a celebration of gastronomy, games and proletarian sloganeering that for two days turns the working-class Paris suburb of La Courneuve into a Communist carnival. Yet for all the gourmandizing hoopla, this year's fête was hardly the joyful event of the past few Septembers, when the party was confidently anticipating a leftist victory in last March's parliamentary elections. In the wake of the left's stunning defeat and as the feud between Communists and Socialists enters its second year, the festivities this year seemed in large part an attempt at putting on a cheerful front.

And an exceedingly transparent front it was too. The *village du livre*, a vast tent



Communist Leader Marchais at the carnival  
*Hardly the joyful event of past Septembers.*

that is the traditional showcase for Marxist authors' latest books, was barely large enough to contain the hubbub of dissent and debate that has raged through the party since last spring's electoral disaster. The brooding began in April, when Communist Secretary-General Georges Marchais came under widespread attack in party ranks as the cause of the disaster. Critics charged that party leaders' autocratic exercise of "democratic centralism"—the party's code word for unquestioned rule from the top—had provoked the split with François Mitterrand's Socialists and the splintering of the once confident *Union de la Gauche*. When Marchais chose simply to blame the Socialists rather than examine in cold detail the causes of the March defeat, six party intellectuals took the unprecedented step of attacking the Politburo in *Le Monde*.

Suddenly, the battle within the party was joined. Communist Historian Jean Elleinstein launched a three-part *Le Monde* series. In it, he caustically observed that there had been "more centralism than democracy" in Communism's history and asked whether the French party could not now accommodate more debate, lest it continue to lose rank-and-file voters. Philosopher Louis Althusser, a party hard-liner, joined the criticism with his own *Le Monde* series, and Jacques Frémontier, editor of a Communist magazine for factory workers, resigned in protest over Marchais's handling of the election.

**T**hen in August came the first signs of an attempt at appeasement. Politburo Member Paul Laurent, a respected liberal in the party leadership, published a book defending the secrecy of top-level meetings ("The true freedom of a director is to debate tranquilly"), but conceded some "faults and insufficiencies" in party administration. The ultimate rehabilitation came from Marchais, in a speech televised from the *Fête de l'Humanité* last week. There, he declared firmly, "no protesters in the French Communist Party"; there are only loyal "comrades who discuss." Contradicting his earlier condemnation of the critics, Marchais contended that "it is possible to have good politics in our party only to the extent that each person can press his own ideas freely." Noting that Archeric Elleinstein was at the fête, busily autographing books, Marchais called his presence "obvious proof of the democracy that reigns within the breast of the party."

Not all French were immediately convinced that Marchais's ingratiating turnabout on dissent within the party was a permanent change. Observed Jean-François Revel, perennial critic of the Communists: "Each time that the party steps on the democratic accelerator, it then pushes yet more vigorously on the brake." That helps explain why the Communists are stalled in France's political traffic.



Corrado Alunni after capture in Milan

ITALY

### Bellissimo!

*A terrorist leader is caught*

**I**t was just after dark when over a hundred plainclothes police moved into a quiet, middle-class, residential neighborhood of Milan last week. Squad cars crept inconspicuously into position to seal off a block-long stretch of the Via Negrolì. Armed carabinieri stationed themselves behind parked cars and in the courtyard of the apartment building at No. 30. Their prey: Corrado Alunni, 30, one of the ring-leaders in the Red Brigades kidnapping and assassination of Christian Democratic Party Leader Aldo Moro last spring.

A ten-man team of antiterrorist specialists, equipped with submachine guns and bulletproof vests, broke open the door of apartment No. 2 and seized a stocky man clad in a pair of shorts who surrendered readily: "Yes, I am Corrado Alunni and I regard myself as a political prisoner."

The capture was the first major police break in the biggest man hunt in Italian history. Alunni, one of the most violent and ruthless of Moro's Red Brigades kidnapers, is also believed to have participated in the killings of Moro's five bodyguards, three police officers, two court officials and a newspaper editor. Though police had spotted him six weeks earlier, they refrained from making an immediate swoop. Instead, police in disguise kept him under constant surveillance. This classic counterespionage maneuver paid off. Just six hours after Alunni's capture, police picked up one more suspected Red Brigades terrorist in what promises to be a roundup. Said a jubilant officer of the antiterrorist squad: "Finally, the Moro murder investigation is going *bellissimo*."

# TAXATION

SPECIAL REPORT

## Spreading Consensus to Cut, Cut, Cut

*Changes are ahead because of worry about creating capital and jobs*

"The central issue between the Government and the people is taxes," says New York Representative Barber Conable, the ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee. But rarely do leading citizens and Government policymakers get an opportunity to exchange their views face to face on this basic and sensitive issue. At a moment when the U.S. Senate is debating where and how much to reduce taxes, and many states are moving to emulate California's tax-slashing Proposition 13, Time Inc. last week brought 90 top businessmen and economists to Washington for a Conference on Taxation.

For two days, Time's guests heard from and fired questions at a long list of panelists and speakers. They included Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, Federal Reserve Board Chairman G. William Miller, White House Economics Adviser Charles Schultz, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long, Senator Edward Kennedy, House Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman, and Conable. What emerged, among other things, was a surprisingly broad consensus that tax policy, both as a mirror of the nation's goals and as a tool to help achieve them, is moving—and must continue to move—in a new direction.

In many ways it has been as startling a development as the Great Tax Revolt of 1978 itself. Echoing the worries of citizens—and not just those in the tax-pressed middle class—public officials from statehouse to White House are proclaiming that the choking grip of taxation must be loosened to let the underproductive, inflation-riddled U.S. economy breathe more freely and create more profits, capital and jobs. That sentiment was fully reflected at the Time Inc. conference. Sounding what might well have been the keynote of the proceedings, liberal Democrat Ullman declared that in its approach to taxation the nation is undergoing "a turn-around of major magnitude." After a decade in which tax policy was tilted toward achieving various social goals, Ullman observed, the federal taxing powers are about to be shifted to a new priority. Said he: "We are moving toward economically oriented taxation related to growth and capital formation. Capital is perhaps the key to whether we are able to solve our problems of productivity, of competition in world markets, and of inflation."

Ullman's call for help for private enterprise might have seemed startling a few months ago, but at the conference it was the unchallenged wisdom echoed by speakers of many viewpoints. Former Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson, now head of Wall Street's Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, coupled a per-

suasive appeal for steps to foster the development of new businesses with a wry observation that "an investment banker calling for a cut in capital gains taxes has all the credibility of Dracula asking for charitable contributions to the blood bank."

Peterson need not have been so apologetic. Other proponents of a capital gains cut included such Democratic powers as Louisiana's Long, whose Senate committee has just begun hearings on what little remains of President Carter's tax reform proposals. Long not only urged a large capital gains reduction, but also sounded an imperative to "try to make this [tax] system less counterproductive" for business. Even Teddy Kennedy, the leader of the Senate's liberals, backed tax relief for companies. While he opposed any easing in the capital gains, he proposed an even deeper cut in the 48% tax on corporate profits than the House passed last month. The House voted for a 46% maximum, but Kennedy wants it pulled down to 44%.



Conference speakers and panelists. Top row: Peter Peterson, Edward Kennedy. Middle row: Michael Blumenthal, William Steiger, Russell Long, Barber Conable. Bottom row: Al Ullman, Alan Greenspan, G. William Miller



Participants in the Time Inc. Conference on Taxation: N.D. ALEXANDER JR., vice president, Occidental Petroleum Corp. • WILLIS ALEXANDER, executive vice president, American Bankers Association • ROBERT ANDERSON, president, Rockwell International • DAVID P. BARDELL, senior vice president, finance and administration, Planning Research Corp. • JAMES D. BERRY, chairman, Republic of Texas Corp. • JOHN F. BOOKOUT, president, Steel Oil Co. • NICHOLAS BRADY, managing director, Dillon, Read & Co., Inc. • WILLIAM E. BROCK, chairman, Republican National Committee • JAMES T. BYRNE JR., vice president, Bankers Trust Co. • EDWARD E. CARLSON, chairman, UAL Inc. • ROBERT CARSWELL, Deputy Secretary, Treasury Department • WILLIAM K. CONDRILL ESQ., Staptoe & Johnson • JAMES E. CONNOR, managing director, The First Boston Corp. • RICHARD P. COOLEY, chairman, Wells Fargo Bank • L. STANLEY CRANE, president, Southern Railway Co. • ELLWOOD F. CURTIS, vice chair-





Taxes must be cut not only for business but for everybody, and must be cut not only this year but again and again in the future, so said most of the speakers, echoing a public demand that has become politically irresistible and economically sensible. To a great degree, the new consensus for cutting is the result of inflation. Several years of rising prices have made a tax system that may have once seemed moderate and fair both harsh and inequitable, because it produces illusory gains in incomes, profits and home values that are taxed as heavily as if they were real. But there is wide disagreement on *how* taxes should be cut. How much can taxes be reduced without deepening the budget deficit and thus making inflation, the cruellest tax, even worse? Which cuts can best promote investment? Can they be granted without giving an unfair break to the affluent?

The congressional policymakers are agreed that the era of reform in taxes can be closed out, because most of the loopholes have been sewn up. Indeed, Ullman chided Carter for having raised the reform issue without any acknowledgment of the many steps taken since the 1969 tax reform to remove inequities in the system. Long pointed out that much of the push behind reform derived from public fury in the late 1960s over some widely publicized reports about people with huge incomes who paid no taxes. Indeed, he said, one poll shows that many still think that more than half of all high-income people pay no income taxes. In fact, he insisted, because of reforms already put on the books, there is no longer anyone in the country with a net income of more than \$200,000 who dodges federal taxes completely.

As for the other great tax thrust of the past decade—the effort to use the system to shift wealth from richer citizens to poorer ones through various forms of transfer payments—it has gone about as far as it can. Transfer payments, such as Social Security and welfare benefits, account for more of the federal budget than anything else, including defense, and probably cannot be increased further, either as a practical or a political matter. The public's mood, as Conable described it, is, "Quit all this talking about equity, and cut my taxes."

**T**here was also broad agreement at the conference that after a round of changes this year intended to stimulate investment, and perhaps another round next year, Congress should leave the details of the tax code alone for a while. Continued tinkering with the rules governing exemptions, deductions and the types of income subject to tax confuse individual taxpayers and corporate executives, leading them to postpone investment and hiring decisions because they cannot be certain what tax rules will apply. Conable suggested that "perhaps we should have a tax moratorium" on structural change in the system. Added Illinois liberal Democrat Abner Mikva, another Ways and Means member: "Wouldn't it be grand if we finally reached a point in our tinkering with the tax code where we were able to say to the American investor or the American business community, 'This is the way it is going to be for the next five years. Now go out and make all the money you can.'"

But there will be no stability in tax rates, at least for a while. The tax cuts enacted this year to take effect in 1979 must be followed by more reductions in 1980, 1981 and perhaps future years. Charles Schultze, the President's chief economist, came close to making that position Administration policy. Said he: "As we look out over the years ahead, additional tax reductions are almost surely going to be necessary. We are going to need periodic cuts to keep the economy properly balanced."

The reason is inflation. Harvard's Martin Feldstein, president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, pointed out that with no change in tax rates, a 7½-per-year rise in personal income increases federal tax collections 10½ to 11½ by pushing people into higher brackets. Worse, the taxpayer gets no real benefit from a 7½ wage or salary raise, since prices are going up that much or more; the extra taxes come right out of his hide. That trims his buying power to an extent dangerous

man, Deere & Co. • JAMES W. DAVANT, chairman, Palmco, Inc. • MICHAEL D. DRIGMAN, chairman and president, Wheelabrator-Frye, Inc. • CHARLES F. DONNELLY, vice chairman, The Bendix Corp. • JOHN J. DOUGLAS, vice chairman, General Telephone & Electronics Corp. • LESLIE DOUGLAS, partner, Folger, Meier, Fanning, Douglas, Inc. • EDWARD W. DUFFY, chairman, Martin Midland Bank, Inc. • HELMUTH R. FANDL, vice president, Avon Products, Inc. • SHELDON W. FANTLE, president, Peoples Drug Stores, Inc. • THOMAS FIELD, executive director, Taxation with Representation • HARRY D. GARRER, executive vice president, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S. • RALPH A. GERRA, general tax counsel, Bethlehem Steel Corp. • JOHN D. GRAY, chairman, Hart Schaffner & Marx • ROBERT V. HATCHER JR., president, Johnson & Higgins • FRANK E. HEDRICK, president, Beech Aircraft Corp. • JOHN E. HELMANN, president, Somerset Importers, Ltd. • RAYMOND H. HERZOG, chairman,

## TAXATION

to the economy—and to the politicians who let it happen.

Why not now enact enormous tax cuts to take effect in succeeding years? That is official Republican Party policy in the form of the Kemp-Roth bill, which would reduce taxes 30% over the next three years. Proponents argue that it would either force deep reductions in federal spending or stimulate so much economic activity that it would eventually raise more revenue than the present tax system does. Kemp-Roth opponents call that a "free-lunch theory." Schultz denounced the bill as "a surefire guarantee of inflation" that would stimulate more demand than the economy could reasonably fill and swell deficits that the Government is trying to reduce. The size of each year's tax cuts, he argued, must be determined by economic conditions and how much federal spending can be held down in that year. The economic arguments against Kemp-Roth have persuaded the House to sidetrack it, and almost no one at the conference defended it.

The size of next year's first-step tax cut is not in much dispute. The House passed a bill reducing taxes \$16.3 billion a year; the Senate may increase that to slightly over \$19 billion. Nor is there much disagreement that about two-thirds will go to individual taxpayers. Federal Reserve Chairman Miller said he would like to see part of that sum go not to cutting income taxes but to reducing the Social Security tax increase coming next year. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal would give more of the cuts to people with taxable incomes of \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year. But the form of cuts for individuals stirred only mild controversy.

Much hotter disagreement came over both the form and extent of tax cuts for companies and investors. In itself that marks a profound shift in tax philosophy. Past cuts have aimed primarily at giving consumers more after-tax dollars to spend, in the hope that their buying would lift the economy; business spending to build new plants, modernize machinery and introduce new products was expected to follow automatically. But investment now is very low, and the absorbing question of tax policy has become how to design cuts to spur the largest rise in investment. Or, to put it another way, how to remove obstacles that the tax code puts in the way of investment. As Robert Anderson, president of Rockwell International, explained: "If I had a partner who put up all the money, took all the risks, did the biggest part of the work and gave me half the profits [a reference to the 48% corporate tax], I would be a hell of a lot more encouraging to that partner than I think the Government has been to business during the past 20 years."

**F**ed Chairman Miller spelled out some of the reasons for concern: "The Japanese spend 20% of their gross national product in fixed investment, and Germany spends 15%, and we are spending 8% or 9%." He drew an analogy with 16th century Spain, which "became the principal beneficiary of the discovery of the New World in the form of large amounts of gold and silver, introducing into Spain huge amounts of unearned purchasing power. It was spent to build the most elegant society the world had ever seen up to that time in Europe... But it was a consumptive society, and when the Spaniards went through their gold, they invested nothing—and econom-

ically they entered the 17th century barefoot. The question for us is: Have we found a way to build an affluent society? Are we putting enough back into the system so that we can assure our capacity to produce a high standard of living for our heirs?"

Peterson recited a doleful string of 20th century U.S. examples to prove that "we are losing some of our innovative juice." In the 1950s, U.S. spending for research and development was rising at a brisk average rate of 14% a year, but in the entire four years from 1973 to 1977, R. and D. spending rose only a nearly invisible .8%. The Commerce Department issued 68,000 patents last year, down from 70,000 in 1967. Worse, 25,500 of the 1977 patents went to foreigners, vs. 14,700 ten years earlier; in the key field of business and accounting machines, the number of U.S. patents issued to foreigners has increased 75% in the past decade. Another Peterson observation: "Possibly the single most important [new] product around is video recorders. I do not know of a single American manufacturer making consumer video recorders."

So business taxes must be cut to stimulate more—and more innovative—investment. But which taxes? And how much? The conference turned up a sharp schism between two groups: those who want a deep cut in capital gains taxes and those who prefer almost any other approach.

That the subject should come up in that form at all is rather amazing. Capital gains taxes are levied on profits realized on the sale of stock, real estate, businesses or almost any asset held for twelve months or longer. As late as 1969 the lid on this tax was 25%; one of the supposed triumphs of the loophole closers of the

mid-1970s was to raise that maximum to 49% now, and as recently as a year ago the Carter Administration was preparing a proposal to tax capital gains at full ordinary-income rates, which would have meant a doubling of levies on many small and medium-size gains. Then Wisconsin Republican William Steiger, a panelist at the Time conference, introduced an amendment to peel the levy back to 25%, and to his own astonishment got a mighty bandwagon rolling. The House wrote into its tax bill a cut in maximum capital gains rates—though only to 35%.

Steiger and his allies assert that high capital gains taxes hit the economy precisely where it is most vulnerable. They steer investors away from innovative, high-risk ventures and push people to buy such securities as bonds of mature companies, which yield a steady, safe return. That return is taxed at ordinary-income rates, to be sure, but then capital gains rates are no longer low enough to compensate investors for extra risk. Supporters of Steiger argue persuasively that cutting capital gains rates would raise federal revenues rather than reduce them. People would sell assets they have been salting away in safe-deposit boxes, move the money into new investments that help the economy, and produce a greater volume of transactions to be taxed. Russell Long, who will have as much to do with shaping this year's tax legislation as anyone, asserts: "I have no doubt that we are going to cut the capital gains tax. And I am convinced that [the Government is] going to make money on it."

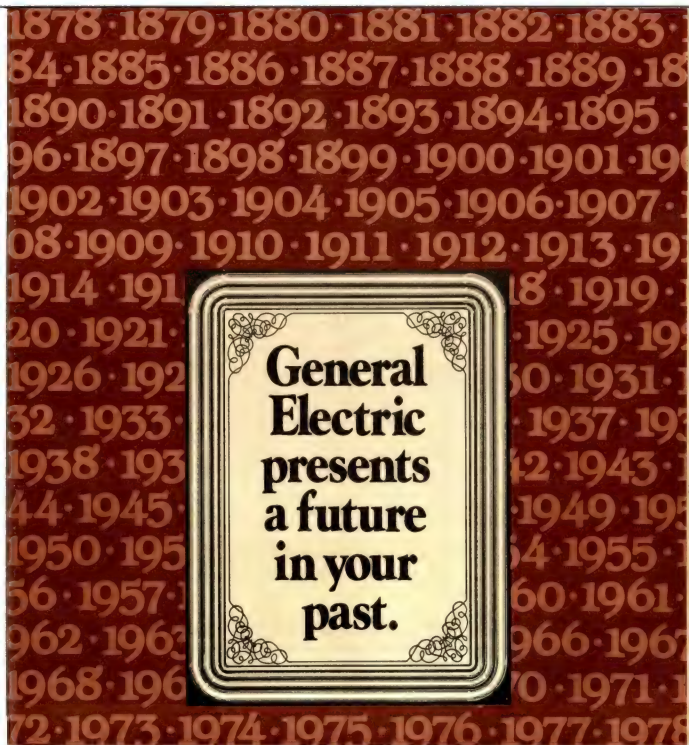
The Administration's original argument against a capital gains cut was that it would unduly favor the affluent, who have



Iowa Governor Robert Ray



Economist Martin Feldstein



General Electric has been around for one hundred years. That's half the age of our nation. A century of progress.

As you read the following pages, you'll be surprised to learn GE was working in areas years ago that are so relevant today. Areas that represent milestones in the progress GE has made during its 100 years. And you'll see how GE's concern for progress is continuing—to help solve the problems of today and tomorrow.



GE's roots reach back to this company, founded on October 15, 1878.

This ad appeared in September, 1925.



**What a convenience electric light is . . . and how much less it costs!**

In the days of Governor Bradford, light was so expensive that the loyal Puritan family extinguished its single candle during prayers. The early settlers had to learn to make candles themselves—the most arduous of tasks.

Now light comes at a finger touch—and it is more than 100 times cheaper than candle light. It's worth of electricity will give much more light than 51's worth of candles.

*So we light freely.*—A 75-watt Edison Mazda Lamp will give more than twice as much light as a 30-watt Edison Mazda Lamp—but will average only a third of a cent more an hour for current.

*And we use the right Lamps.* Edison Mazda Lamps give full value for the current you use and there is a right size for every socket. Any Edison Mazda Lamp Agent will advise you. He displays the sign shown at the left of the picture.

**EDISON MAZDA LAMPS**  
A GENERAL ELECTRIC PRODUCT

## Lighting led the way.

It was 100 years ago when Thomas Edison founded the Edison Electric Light Company . . . the company that became General Electric. The following year Edison invented the first practical light bulb.

Yet more than 40 years later, this ad was still trying to convince people of the convenience of lighting.

People don't need any convincing these days. Today, GE makes thousands of types of lights and comes up with a new idea in lighting every working day. In effect, GE never stops inventing the light bulb.

And GE is making progress by finding ways to provide more light and better light—at less cost and using less electricity.

The first practical light bulb helped the Age of Electricity get underway in 1879.



America's first central power station built by Thomas Edison on Pearl Street, in New York, 1882.

1894. Charles Steinmetz and other GE engineers helped make a success of America's first major a-c electric transmission project at Niagara Falls.



General Electric delivered locomotives for the first major conversion of a steam railway to electricity—1895.



This ad appeared in April, 1927.

A brand-new way  
to do homework.

There was a reason for that timeworn phrase "A woman's work is never done." It never was. Fifty years ago, her days were filled with hard, heavy, ceaseless labor. Because back then, just about every household chore was done by hand.

This ad talked about liberation. Talked about how electricity could take over housework at a modest cost.

Today, electricity works even harder in the home. Because each American home has so many more electrical appliances. And the average U.S. cost of electricity to run those appliances is still modest — only 3.6 cents per kilowatt hour.

Today, and in the future, you will find the GE monogram on the appliances that lighten your work load.

Any woman who  
does anything which  
a little electric motor  
can do is working for  
3¢ an hour!



There are few hard tasks left in the home which electricity cannot do at trifling cost. You will find the G-E monogram on many electrical household conveniences. It is a guarantee of excellence as well as a mark of service.

*Ask your electric company or dealer to help you select the labor-saving electrical appliances best suited for your home.*

# GENERAL ELECTRIC



GE pioneered industrial research when it opened this laboratory in 1900. Among the researchers: Charles Steinmetz, John Dempster, Willis Whitney.

Patents for electric fans were awarded to a GE engineer in 1902. First ones were actually built a few years earlier.



Opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. 1000 electric motors, lock controls and locomotives were all GE.



This ad appeared in January, 1918.



### When Minutes Meant Lives

FROM our Army in France came a call for a light and mobile X-ray outfit. Those we had, and those the Allies had, were heavy, complicated and fragile. It would mean life to American soldiers if their wounds could be examined immediately, on the field, instead of in the hospitals to the rear.

The problem was given to the Research Laboratories of the General Electric Company, and the facilities of MAZDA Service, which include the knowledge and experience and technical skill of scientists and engineers, quickly developed the X-ray outfit needed. Incorporated in it was an X-ray tube of new and improved design, by virtue of which cumbersome auxiliary apparatus was eliminated.

The engineering skill of allied industry, of Army officers, and of roentgenologists was called upon to complete the outfit, and in an astonishingly short time these units, truly portable, were being shipped to France. The new X-ray outfit did work with one tube for which other machines required a variety of tubes. Further, it weighed less than half as much, and was three times

as powerful as the best field equipment then available. This outfit was made standard by the United States Army, it was used in the field, and it replaced more intricate apparatus in many of the base hospitals.

The way of its production was this—MAZDA Service is responsible for the present efficiency of the highest type of incandescent electric lamp, the MAZDA lamp, and there is no type, shape or size of bulb or filament that has not been made and tested in the Research Laboratories. The X-ray tube, the vital part of the outfit, is a younger cousin of the incandescent lamp. To the making of this tube were brought to bear a unique knowledge of bulbs and filaments, an unequalled laboratory and manufacturing equipment, and the technique of the chemists, physicists, metallurgists and engineers of MAZDA Service. These men triumphantly and swiftly solved the difficult problems of development and manufacture.

The portable X-ray outfit forthwith went overseas to save American lives. The facilities of MAZDA Service produced it when the need came, and humanity is richer for its possession.

RESEARCH LABORATORIES OF GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY

MAZDA

### A new look for doctors.

It's about 80 years since Roentgen discovered the "unknown ray," the x-ray. But for many years its use was limited because early x-ray tubes were very unpredictable.

Then Dr. W. Coolidge of the GE Research Lab came up with something that became the basis for all modern x-ray—the "hot cathode" tube. The ad at left talks about one important result of his discovery.

GE is still coming up with new technology. They recently built a total body scanner—a computerized unit that takes tens of thousands of x-ray readings in seconds. So doctors can see what they could never see before without surgery.

X-ray is only one area where GE ideas and medical equipment help doctors diagnose the ills of people.

The Navy's first all-electric ship was equipped by GE. The battleship New Mexico, launched in 1915.



Dr. W. Coolidge built this portable x-ray for the Army. In 1913 he had developed the tube which is the basis for all modern x-ray.



In 1921, a GE supercharger pushed a biplane up to 14,509 feet, a world record. This was one of many GE aviation "firsts."



This ad appeared in September, 1925

## Clearing the air.

A lot of people are surprised that there have been companies concerned about pollution for many years. One of those companies is General Electric.

Take the ad at right. It tells the story of a tug that didn't smoke. Another ad on these pages talks about trains that didn't smoke, either. Throughout industry GE was developing ways for electricity to take over from steam.

Today, GE is still at it. With better ship engines, trains, motors. With nuclear power plants that put less smoke in the air than a match. And jet engines that leave no black marks in the skies.

And in the years to come, GE will continue looking for ways to keep smoke out of the skies.



Tugboat Van Dyke 3 towing oil barge from Philadelphia to Boston.

## What is missing in this picture?



All electric equipment for this boat, and for two sister ships, was manufactured by the General Electric Company; which also makes electric motors large enough to drive battleships and small enough for sewing machines, washers, vacuum cleaners, and fans. Let electric motors work more for you.

Even a child can answer—this tugboat has no funnel.

It has no steam engine, either. No bunkers full of costly coal. No stokers. No smoke. No clouds of steam.

Clean electric motors, supplied with electricity by oil engine driven generators, keep this trim little boat continuously and inexpensively at work.

# GENERAL ELECTRIC



Many Americans remember their first refrigerator as this "Monitor Top," introduced by GE in 1927.

Only a few were lucky enough to have this GE TV set. It received the first TV broadcast ever... in 1928.

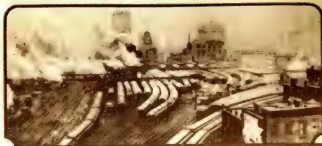


GE introduced the photoflash bulb to the U.S. in 1930. It revolutionized indoor photography.



King Gustav V of Sweden presents the 1932 Nobel Prize for Chemistry to Dr. Irving Langmuir of GE.

This ad appeared in September, 1923.



1903

Twenty years ago this smoky, smoky railroad yard was New York's greeting to its visitors.

1923

Now down underneath these houses and hotels, smoothly running electric locomotives and motors handle 600 trains a day.



## This avenue was a railroad yard



It is the business of electricity to abolish smoke and noise, to improve lighting, and transfer heavy burdens from the shoulders of men to machines. The General Electric Company makes the equipment and supplies with which electricity works.

In 1910 the lines running into New York's Grand Central Terminal were electrified. Away went the smoky locomotives; the tracks were covered over; and 40 acres of railroad yards have become the beautiful home section of Park Avenue. One glance explains why the valuation of real estate in this section has jumped hundreds of millions of dollars.

# GENERAL ELECTRIC

## Getting people moving.

Just about every city in the country has had a face-lift over the years. The ad at left talks about one of the most dramatic ever. The transformation of a grimy railroad yard into choice real estate.

The yard built up as more and more travelers poured into New York City. Then came the non-smoking GE locomotive. So tracks and yard could be covered over to become famed Park Avenue.

Today, cities are still tackling the problem of getting people into their centers. And electric mass transit again offers the solution. Swift, comfortable, clean-running trains that carry hundreds at a time.

Tomorrow? Trains may look totally different, but GE will be working on new ways for electricity to do the job.



America's first jet took to the air on Oct. 1, 1942. Jet engines built by General Electric sent it aloft.

Closest thing to alchemy ever achieved by man: the turning of graphite into Man-Made diamonds by GE research in 1954.



World's first licensed nuclear power plant, built by GE in California. It started producing electricity in 1957.



This ad appeared in January, 1925

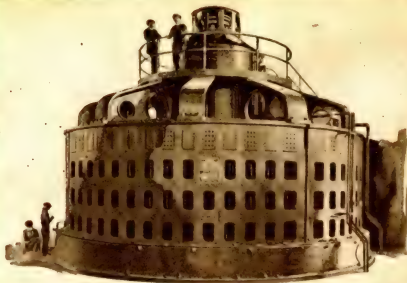
### Using your resources.

As you can see here, GE was worried about saving natural resources a long time ago.

Today, U.S. supplies of coal are the largest in the world. But GE is still working at ways to make them last longer. One is through a process called "coal gasification" which allows low-grade coal to be efficiently used to make electricity.

But that isn't all. GE is also developing other sources of energy to make electricity... sources that are almost limitless. The atom, the sun, the winds.

Everybody relies on electricity to do so much. And you can rely on GE to find new ways to keep making the electricity we need.



## The world's biggest coal saver



On this machine is a name plate bearing the monogram of the General Electric Company—the same monogram that is on the little motors that run labor-saving household machines for you. This monogram is more than a trade mark; the letters G-E are the initials of a friend.

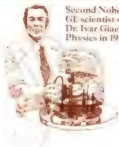
This is the largest hydro-electric generator in the world, one of three new giants installed by the Niagara Falls Power Company. Two million people share in the increased electric light and power supplied by these great generators.

Each of these machines will save the equivalent of 700,000 tons of coal a year.

# GENERAL ELECTRIC



1969. Man first stepped on the moon. GE contributions to the Apollo program included computerized system that checked out 1000 valves and switches in 1/12 second.



Second Nobel Prize for a GE scientist was won by Dr. Ivar Giaever for Physics in 1973.



1878 - 1978



This ad appeared in September, 1923



## The initials of a friend

You will find these letters on many tools by which electricity works. They are on great generators used by electric light and power companies; and on lamps that light millions of homes.

They are on big motors that pull railway trains; and on tiny motors that make hard housework easy.

By such tools electricity dispels the dark and lifts heavy burdens from human shoulders. Hence the letters G-E are more than a trademark. They are an emblem of service—the initials of a friend.

# GENERAL ELECTRIC

Some things never change.

This ad has long been recognized as one of the best of the past 100 years. It stated a philosophy of doing business—to make not only good products but products that could help human progress.

When General Electric first started, there was no way of knowing that the GE trademark would eventually be found on refrigerators, air conditioners and TV sets. Those items just didn't exist. Even today, people are surprised to find the GE trademark is also on such things as space satellites, radar and plastics.

Who knows? 100 years from now, those initials might be found on a space vehicle carrying colonists to another planet.

The GE trademark will continue to be "an emblem of service—the initials of a friend."

100 Years of  
Progress for People

GENERAL  ELECTRIC



## TAXATION

the most money to invest and reap the biggest gains. At the conference, Secretary Blumenthal repeated that contention, but in greatly diluted form. He said that "a capital gains tax cut is acceptable if it does not provide an opportunity for people to escape virtually scot free from any kind of taxation."

The opponents of an immediate capital gains tax cut—a clear minority at the conference—made their argument mostly on grounds not of equity but of efficiency. Basically, those grounds are that: 1) it cannot be proved that such a reduction would raise revenue; the safer assumption is that since a capital gains reduction is, after all, a tax cut, it would reduce revenue; 2) cuts in other business taxes would produce more new in-

vestment per dollar of forsworn revenue than a capital gains reduction. Senator Kennedy estimates that 85% of all capital gains are realized from real estate sales or other transactions that contribute little if anything to making the economy more efficient.

This school would focus on three alternatives: cutting taxes on corporate profits more deeply than the House-passed bill now does, increasing the tax credit that businesses get for investing in new plant and equipment, and permitting businesses to take faster depreciation write-offs on their plants and machinery. Steiger's opponents disagree on what mix of these alternatives is to be favored. The Fed's Miller argues that tax cuts should be designed to "incentivize" business into expan-

## The Revolt's Deeper Roots

California's celebrated Proposition 13 has become a puzzle for the rest of the nation. Some observers see it as part of a conservative backlash against the welfare state. President Carter says it vindicates his populist view that ordinary folks are rising in wrath against the well-to-do and their three-martini lunches. At the Time Inc. tax conference, Public Opinion Analyst Daniel Yankelovich, who conducts regular surveys for TIME, offered his findings.

The tax rebellion is clearly not confined to California, says Yankelovich. People elsewhere feel at least as strongly about taxes. But, he adds, the revolt is not an unqualified conservative backlash or a mindless desire to dismantle government. It is also not a code word for racial prejudice. Nor is it a soak-the-rich movement. Quite the contrary, Yankelovich has found that most poorer Americans still believe that they have a chance to achieve wealth and they do not want the opportunity removed. Nor do they feel excessively jealous of those who have already made it, since they believe luck, to a large degree, determines who has good fortune and their turn may come next. Indeed, a 66% majority favors cutting the capital gains tax.

What then is the tax rebellion? Yankelovich finds three meanings. First, it reflects a personal crunch. Last year more people felt their income would grow in the following year or two than believed it would decline. This year the proportions are the reverse. So part of the revolt is a perception by the typical citizen that "my taxes and living costs are rising faster than my income."

Second, says Yankelovich, the revolt is a protest against government waste, inefficiency and power. Though people have felt keenly about waste for a long time, the breadth of this feeling is new. Back in 1958, 42% agreed with the state-

ment, "Government wastes a lot of money we pay in taxes." In 1968, 60% agreed and this year the figure is 78%. Fully 80% interpret Proposition 13 as a call to trim excessive spending.

The third, and most important, aspect of the revolt is that it is aimed at what people see as forms of unfairness in American life. This is where the rebellion's real power lies. Says Yankelovich:



Analyst Daniel Yankelovich

"When people begin to resent what they regard as unfair, it generates the kind of emotion that gets some people elected and others thrown out of office."

A lot of this emotion is being generated now by the unfair effects of inflation, which include automatic tax increases without a vote or political discussion. One example: automatic increases in the tax assessment of houses in California, the development that led to Proposition 13. A nationwide grievance is the way inflation pushes people into higher tax brackets even though their real income may be slipping.

An even more potent factor bugging the taxpayer, says Yankelovich, in-

volves the raging debate over two competing conceptions of fairness. One is the concept of a need as a right, a notion that is built into much of federal legislation. As Yankelovich puts it: "If I need food or education or health care, I have a right to it." From that standpoint, it is fairness when government guarantees that the need will be met. But this reasoning collides with the other concept of fairness based on an older proposition, which in Yankelovich's words runs, "I get what I deserve. I worked hard for my pension and so I deserve it. I have been here longer than anybody else so I have earned my seniority. He is smarter than Joe so he deserves to go to college."

These two views sometimes clash dramatically. Yankelovich cites an example: two families, each with a child who qualifies for a student grant and each in the same income bracket. But one family has skimmed and has saved some money and the other has not. Which gets more grant money? It is the family that has not saved.

There is no ambiguity about where the majority stands, says Yankelovich. It backs the concept of fairness based on getting what you deserve and opposes the notion that need constitutes a right. In Yankelovich's surveys, 84% say that people who live by the rules are getting shortchanged and those who flout the rules are doing just fine. More than 80% are against affirmative action when it is carried to the point of reverse discrimination. Eighty-seven percent back the notion that those who are able to work, but choose not to, have no right to expect society to assist them financially.

From Proposition 13, says Yankelovich, voters have drawn a powerful lesson. By mass action at the polls, government can be forced to pursue a tax policy that is less wasteful, less distorted by inflation, and closer to the majority's concept of fairness. Yankelovich concludes: "Tax policy may be the first major issue of the 1980 campaign."

## TAXATION

sion and modernization. He advocates not only delaying a capital gains tax reduction but also substituting accelerated depreciation for a cut in the corporate profits tax, in his view that would more directly spur investment in new plant and equipment. Says Miller: "A reduction in rate means that businesses have more cash, but has no relation to how they spend it. They can spend it by reducing debt, by buying up other companies, by putting it in their jeans and declaring more dividends." Many other speakers consider a cut in the profits tax an essential element in any strategy to stimulate investment.

However the quarrel may be compromised in this year's tax law, it will probably rage on. Steiger, for example, is looking beyond cuts in capital gains taxes to a complex idea of low-

ering the corporate profits tax to 40% as well as making depreciation allowances reflect the inflated rather than the original costs of assets. In exchange he would wipe out a dozen tax breaks that corporations now get, including the investment tax credit.

Whether that or any foreseeable approach would work is unknowable. Calculating the effects of possible tax changes on business investment decisions is one of the most arcane of arts. Brookings Economist Joseph Pechman, a liberal, points out that one goal of economic policy should be to increase productivity. But, he insists, it is impossible to know what kind of tax changes, if any, would do that, because economists are most uncertain what is causing the current slowdown in productivity. His view was disputed by several other speakers, but Pechman has a point: Congress is unlikely to find the best mix of policies to spur investment on its first try this year, and a long period of tinkering probably lies ahead.



Union Leader Jerry Wurf

A wide range of issues related to tax policy kept coming up at the conference. Blumenthal discussed the Administration's tax strategy as part of the overall fight on inflation, and stressed that the Government cannot wage that battle alone. "There are contributions by labor and by industry that are required also. The President in the next few days will be considering additional options, and I am sure we will be appealing to business and labor for additional help and additional sacrifices." That sounded like a call for a kind of social compact to keep wage and price boosts moderate, and it clearly hinted at the wage-price guidelines that are likely to be a major element in the Administration's Stage Two anti-inflation program.

Blumenthal also pledged "a very tight fiscal policy," and indeed reinstated balancing the federal budget by fiscal 1981 as an Administration goal. That did not satisfy Alan Greenspan, former chairman of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers. He lamented that basic functions of government at all levels have been broadened over the past several decades "with no internal rational limiting process," generating irresistible pressures to spend. The only solution he could see is a constitutional amendment enforcing budget limits.

The outcry against spending has been particularly loud at state and local levels, where the tax revolt also is fiercest. Iowa's

Republican Governor Robert Ray complained about all the mandated federal programs that force states and localities to spend money that they do not have themselves. "We hire people whether we need them or not because that is the only way we can get our share of the [federal] money. We don't really like that," Governors, said Ray, would prefer to receive revenue-sharing funds that they may use as they see fit, to reduce taxes if necessary. But both Congress and the Carter Administration are reluctant to surrender any federal controls. Concluded Ray: "I suppose if we Governors could convey just one message to our federal brother it would be: 'Please, whatever you do, don't impose new congressional or Executive mandates on us without reimbursement for their costs.'"

Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, noted that tax problems vary widely from state to state. Not every state had recklessly built surpluses that were bound to outrage tax-oppressed citizens. California's Governor Jerry Brown, said Wurf, had been blind to the "possible devastation" of this development, and an "explosion" resulted. Wurf cited Iowa as a state that had prepared for the tax revolt, and Ray agreed. Iowa's experience, he asserted, could show other states how to "prevent ballooning, rollercoasting and meat-ax budgeting." Back in 1971 Ray persuaded the state legislature to shift increased school costs from property taxes to general revenues. Since then, property taxes have declined from \$14.62 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation to \$11.14, while state aid to schools has jumped \$375 million. Elderly and disabled citizens have been given a tax credit of up to \$1,000 a year as reimbursement for property levies. Finally, as property values soared in Iowa, as elsewhere, a ceiling of 6% of market value was placed on property taxes; homeowners pay an estimated 20% to 30% less than they would pay had the tax increases not been checked.

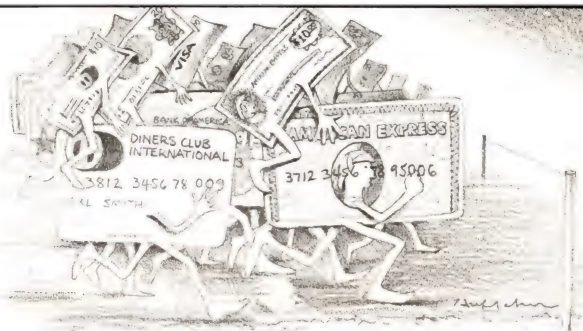


Economic Adviser Charles Schultze

less than they would pay had the tax increases not been checked.

The tax debate is bound to raise profound philosophical questions. Fed Chairman Miller asserts that Americans are prepared to pay for sound government and the services they want, "as long as they feel they are getting value for their money and as long as they feel that there is an equitable system in which nobody is getting away with murder." Which in a way echoes Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' observation that taxes are the price that society pays for civilization.

But just how much government do Americans want? If the drive to cut taxes implies a smaller role for government in society—a point conceded by all speakers at the conference—exactly what should government do less of? In the past, the American tax system has tried to serve many goals: raising revenue, regulating the level of demand in the economy, promoting social equity, rewarding behavior thought to be desirable (buying houses, for instance), and punishing acts judged useless or harmful (e.g., smoking cigarettes). If taxes are now to be cut, which of these sometimes conflicting goals is to be given priority over which others? Perplexing as these problems are, they must be faced. Because there is no mistaking the consensus, taxes must be—and will be—cut, cut, cut.



## Economy & Business

# A War of Cards and Checks

*Bringing more—and cheaper—services for charge-it customers*

**A**lready 590 million of them fatten Americans' wallets and purses, and the easy, pay-later access to goods and services that credit cards offer extends to such exotica as Nevada divorces, surgical work and, in some areas, bail money. Now the ever inventive credit card companies are poised for a new phase of expansion. Growing twice as fast as in recent years, the amount of purchases billed on cards so far in 1978 is up 40%. Americans spend \$16 billion a year on cards, and the total is expected to soar to about \$50 billion in the late 1980s.

Still, there is much room for expansion. Of the 50 payments of various kinds that the average U.S. family makes each month, cards are used for only two or three. To increase that share, card issuers are coming out with many new services.

**Split billing.** In the high-spending travel-and-entertainment card field, Diner's Club is introducing the "Double-Card." A subscriber gets two cards: one for personal use, another for business expenses. The monthly bill separately lists the items charged on each. Through Double-Card, Diner's (3.2 million cardholders) hopes to close in on American Express (9 million).

**Rebates.** Visa, which with nearly 60 million holders has overtaken the long-time leader in the field of multipurpose cards, Master Charge (\$0 million), is testing in several Midwest states an Execu-

charge card aimed at big-spending businessmen. Among its attractions: cardholders get a 1% rebate on all charges.

**Direct debiting.** Though Visa and Master Charge cards have traditionally been issued only by commercial banks, other lending institutions are preparing to jump into the field. A mutual savings bank in Washington State has issued a card that directly debits a customer's savings account for the amount he charges. Some 60 banks are now issuing Visa cards that debit directly against a cardholder's checking account.

In addition, some banks are mailing "preapproved" card applications to potential customers who are rated good risks. They do not have to provide lengthy statements citing credit references and salary, but merely mail back a short, signed form. Over the past 18 months, Chicago's Continental Illinois bank has acquired enough new preapproved Master Charge customers to make it one of the top ten U.S. card issuers.

Most of the new action by card firms is in a long-somnolent field: traveler's checks. American Express has about 65% of the world market, despite recently heating competition. But the check business, argues Visa International President Lee W. Hock, "has changed very little in the past 50 years. It is ripe for innovation."

Diner's Club is offering checks through an arrangement with Thomas

Cook & Sons; they are free, while American Express charges \$1 per \$100 in checks. Master Charge plans to begin selling traveler's checks, probably by late next year, and will allow them to be charged on its card. Visa is also considering a traveler's check venture.

New York's Citicorp, which already has 20% of the traveler's check market, plans to sell its Citibank checks through Carte Blanche. Citicorp bought Carte Blanche in the early 1960s, but was forced to spin it off when the Justice Department objected on antitrust grounds. A federal judge has approved Citicorp's plan to buy back Carte Blanche, and the trust-busters are not likely to block the reunion. Partly because of rising competition from bank-issued cards, Carte Blanche has fared poorly and could well use Citicorp's muscle.

**T**he lure of the card business, and the reason that the newcomers are prepared to sell checks without a fee, lies in the "float"—all that money from checks that have been bought but not yet cashed. The check issuer has free use of the funds. Thus American Express's pitchman, Karl Malden, urges returning vacationers to keep their unsent checks in their pockets as "emergency money"—and his campaign is working nicely. Although no firm returns are in yet on the Malden campaign, American Express

## Economy & Business

studies indicate that people already keep approximately \$1 billion in cash stashed away for rainy days. If consumers could be persuaded to convert that cash to traveler's checks, it would substantially increase the float. American Express's float totals about \$2 billion at any moment; the company invests this money, mainly in long-term tax-exempt securities, and pockets the income.

Outwardly, American Express shows no sign of concern about the increased competition ahead. Louis Gerstner, head of the company's card division, says he is "respectful" of some of his rivals, especially Diner's Club, but is skeptical about the bank cards that want to add traveler's checks. The business, he says, "may look simple, but it is very, very complex, requiring significant economies of scale and control that take years to develop."

Yet many industry analysts believe American Express is facing some tough problems: while there is less and less room for it to grow in the lucrative travel-and-entertainment market that it pioneered, it is confronted by rising competition there and in other fields from many companies, notably Citicorp.

The rush into traveler's checks has inspired some odd alliances and rivalries. Although Citibank issues Master Charge cards and is a member of the consortium that licenses the Master Charge system, its parent Citicorp has gone to court to try to block Master Charge's entry into traveler's checks, charging unfair competition. Citibank's argument: Master Charge, through the banks that issue the card, would be able to control which traveler's checks the customer bought, thus shutting Citibank out of the business.

The new competition will further blur the marketing lines between the older travel-and-entertainment cards like American Express, which grew up specializing in hotels, airlines, rental cars and restaurants, and the bank cards that originally focused on local retail purchases. Citicorp and other big banks that have been moving into cards and checks on a nationwide scale argue that they have been forced to do so in self-defense, claiming they have lost a lot of consumer credit business since World War II to other loan suppliers, including not only the card firms but department-store charge accounts and the auto-finance subsidiaries of the car companies. Insists a top bank executive: "There is no war going on. That would imply that someone must win and someone must lose." But there surely will be a lot of bruising. ■

## Ford's New Man

### A reliable regent

Only two days before the regular meeting of Ford Motor Co.'s board, Chairman Henry Ford II, looking trim and puffing a fat cigar, assured reporters that no new president would be named this month to succeed the unceremoniously sacked Lee Iacocca. Evidently Ford was only trying to confuse the newsmen, because last week the directors indeed named a new president.

He is Philip Caldwell, 58, a decisive but low-keyed executive, who has won Ford's attention as problem solver in a succession of jobs: chief of the company's truck operations, president of Philco-Ford, and head of automaking operations outside North America. Last year he was

elevated to the title of vice chairman and membership in the newly formed office of the chief executive (along with Iacocca and Ford).

The presidential appointment confirms that Caldwell is Henry Ford's choice to be the ranking executive outside the family during the sensitive years of his transfer of power. The chairmanship of Ford Motor Co. is the last hereditary throne in American big business, and Henry II wants to make sure another Ford takes it over. Mindful of his own battle in the mid-1940s to wrest control of the company from Director Harry Bennett, who had gained sway over his aged grandfather Henry I, Henry II wants no willful executives who might contest a smooth succession.

His plan appears to be to hand over the title of chief executive when he reaches 63 in 1980; presumably the heir would be Caldwell. The chairmanship would go two years later to Brother William Clay Ford, now 53, the owner of the Detroit Lions; Henry brought him into the top management last June. But Henry II will remain a board member until he is 70, giving him time enough perhaps to execute the last flourish of his plan: to install Son Edsel, now 29 and assistant managing director of Ford of Australia, as chairman of his great-grandfather's company. ■

## NBC's First Lady

### Programmed for the top

She is a dynamo of an executive who made such a mark in a 20-year career at International Business Machines Corp. that Jimmy Carter considered appointing her his Commerce Secretary before she took herself out of the running. Last week Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, 45, found something more to her liking, NBC President and Chief Executive Fred Silverman named her the network's chair-

man, succeeding Old Pro Julian Good-man, 56, who moves to chairman of the executive committee.

Pfeiffer thus becomes one of the highest-ranking women in U.S. business. Still, while she will have a seat on the board of RCA, NBC's corporate parent, she will report to Silverman, the programming magician whom NBC hired away from ABC earlier this year to try to pull the network out of its last-place ratings slot. Silverman will run the network; Pfeiffer will use her extensive Government contacts on behalf of NBC and will be its spokesman in Washington at a crucial time—hearings begin next year on a sweeping proposal for deregulation of the communications industry that would, among other things, provide for indefinite terms for radio- and TV-station licenses. In time, Pfeiffer is expected to become involved in all aspects of NBC policymaking and administration.

NBC's new chairman got acquainted with Silverman years ago when she was an IBM vice president for communications and Government relations. She worked with Silverman, who was then at CBS, in handling IBM's debut as a television sponsor. "They complement each other," says M.S. Ruker, Jr., an NBC executive vice president. "She's an expert in things like Government relations that he doesn't know very much about." Another intriguing question will be whether Pfeiffer's marriage will become a duet of corporate chiefs. Her husband, Ralph, 51, senior vice president and chief executive in charge of IBM's operations in the Far East and Latin America, is one of several high executives considered candidates to succeed Chairman Frank Cary some day. ■



Jane Pfeiffer



Philip Caldwell in his Dearborn, Mich., office  
*Guardian of the last American throne.*



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*"My hair is auburn."*

*"My eyes are green."*

*"My dress is vivid blue."*

Getting the color right is what RCA's ColorTrak System is all about. It's a remarkable achievement. And it's one reason why last year RCA sold more color televisions than any other year in their history.

Now, for 1979, ColorTrak is even more remarkable. Because this year it tracks the color more automatically than ever before.

Before you ever see the color, the 1979 ColorTrak System grabs it, aligns it, defines it, sharpens it, tones it and locks the color on track.

**Fine tunes every channel, automatically.**

The 1979 ColorTrak is the most automatic color set in RCA history. It's made to bring you natural, lifelike color—the right color—without bothersome adjustment and fine tuning. In fact, ColorTrak's new ChannelLock Tuner\* eliminates the need for any fine tuning at all.

Select any station. The



Simulated TV picture of actress Samantha Eggar shown on a 25" diagonal ColorTrak console. Its contemporary cabinet design is highlighted by a rich pecan finish on hardwood, chrome plated base and simulated wood trim—Model GC 900.

\*ChannelLock Tuner not available in Models FC 493 and FC 479.

ChanneLock Tuner instantly computes the exact station frequency and locks on to the right



RCA's new ChannelLock Tuner\* uses a vibrating quartz crystal to locate and lock on to each TV channel. This precision device completely eliminates the need for fine tuning.

channel. Smoothly. Silently. Precisely. Its secret is a tiny quartz crystal that generates a steady electronic reference signal. And the result is a tuner so accurate, you'll *never* have to fine tune a channel again. *Ever.*

#### **Adjusts for varying colors, automatically.**

You've probably seen how colors can change when a commercial or a new program comes on. The same thing can happen when you change channels. Color-

Trak deals with that problem two ways. The color is continuously monitored by the Automatic Color Control. If the color changes, it automatically makes an adjustment for you. So colors stay

consistent from program to program, channel to channel.

ColorTrak is also equipped with Dynamic Fleshtone Correction that automatically keeps fleshtones warm and natural, for a consistently lifelike color picture.

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A black matrix on the tube helps absorb reflected room light.

ColorTrak also has specially tinted phosphors that absorb additional room light to reduce glaring reflections.

This combination absorbs even more room light, to reduce glaring reflections.

#### **A superb color picture, automatically.**

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Winnowing wheat in India

## Vigorous LDCs

### Cheer from the World Bank

While many industrialized nations have wobbly economies, the less developed countries (LDCs) are enjoying a period of good health that is likely to continue into the mid-1980s. That is the substance of an unexpectedly optimistic report last week by the World Bank. The economies of the non-oil producing developing countries expanded 4.9% last year, vs. 3.5% for developed nations. One reason is that bountiful harvests have substantially eased food shortages, especially in Southeast Asia. The effective use made of World Bank agricultural loans, which have increased 40% since 1973, was especially praised. The LDCs also benefited from the relatively strong demand for raw materials, which helped boost their exports last year 14%, or in dollar terms to \$291.1 billion. Mexico and South Korea did well with manufactured exports, increasing their shipments 20% and 18% respectively. All told, the current account deficits of the LDCs fell from \$37.2 billion in 1975 to \$22 billion last year.

World Bank President Robert McNamara announced that starting in 1981, the bank will make loans totaling \$500 million annually to enable Third World countries to begin oil exploration projects. That, too, should provide a continuing stimulus for growth. A major threat to further gains is the possibility that the developed countries will put up trade barriers against Third World exports. That would be self-defeating, warns the report, because only if the LDCs remain on the upswing can they continue to buy 28% of the manufactured goods exported by the industrial states.

## Executive View/Marshall Loeb

### Three R's of Productivity

With the zeal of the sinner reformed, Charles Jackson Grayson Jr. goes around the country preaching that inflation cannot be defeated by price controls. Sad experience has taught the professor: he was Richard Nixon's price commissioner during the cold, post-freeze days of controls from 1971 through early 1973. Now this much-lettered man (Pennsylvania M.B.A., Harvard D.B.A., ex-FBI agent, ex-S.M.U. business school dean) is trying to sharpen what he considers America's most forceful anti-inflation weapon: productivity.

Price rises will slow down if America can get a larger output of goods and services from the same input of labor, capital and energy. Searching for ways to do so, Grayson, 54, a hyperproductive fellow who gets up at 4:30 a.m., started the nonprofit American Productivity Center at Houston. In all, 125 companies have kicked in their support, and every time Grayson gets a check in the mail, he gleefully clangs a bronze bell hanging in his office. At their center, which has few walls and many open doors, he and a small staff try to discover what ails American productivity.

As the philosopher Satchel Paige might have said, the U.S. shouldn't look back: other countries are gaining on its lead in productivity. In the past decade, U.S. output per hour worked in manufacturing has risen only 27%, exactly the same as anemic Britain's, much less than half as much as that of robust France, West Germany and even Italy, and only one-quarter as much as Japan.

Managers are mystified by the slowdown, and they, like Grayson, put the rap on Government regulations and those labor leaders who equate productivity drives with speedup and exploitation. But there is blame aplenty for managers as well, says Grayson. Too many are overly concerned with short-term profits, on which their bonuses and stock options are based. With inflation, regulation and high taxes all biting into today's earnings, managers put off investing in machines that would raise tomorrow's productivity.

Grayson has been startled at how little companies have done to measure their own productivity, let alone improve it. "They have paid much more attention to finance, marketing, mergers and tax manipulation," says he. Few production men have risen to the top in modern business; the accountants reign in the executive series. The business schools and their brightly minted M.B.A.s sense the trend and pay scant attention to productivity, Grayson observes. "Hardly any courses are given in production and efficiency."

Grayson disputes the conventional wisdom that productivity has been hurt by social change. The surge of women, nonwhites and the young into the job market has not had much impact, in his view. "I've heard all the rhetoric about we-don't-want-to-work-hard-any-more, and I don't believe it. The work ethic has not been lost. What has happened is that autocratic, bureaucratic organizations in business and public service have suppressed the desires and ability of the individual to feel that he or she is contributing. People do not mind contributing to the success of an enterprise, so long as they feel that they have a hand in helping to shape it and are rewarded."

So the way to raise productivity, Grayson argues, is for companies to give everybody the three R's: recognition, responsibility and rewards. Recognition in the form of plaques and photos on the wall, company dinners and other visible backpats for imaginative, high-output workers. Responsibility through allowing individual initiative to ride high, including breaking up long production lines and impersonal offices into teams of workers who choose their own leaders and decide for themselves how to get the job done. Rewards by means of bonuses of cash or time off—or both.

The three R's, singly or in combination, have been shown to lift productivity in large companies such as General Motors, Texas Instruments and IBM, as well as medium-size firms. Little-known Lincoln Electric of Cleveland gives productivity bonuses that come close to equaling regular wages. One result is that productivity has risen so fast that since 1934 prices for Lincoln's products have increased only one-fifth as much as the consumer price index. Professor Grayson sees that as good proof of his thesis that higher productivity can whip inflation.



C. Jackson Grayson Jr.



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But if they did, good-night. And pleasant dreams.

**SONY**  
Dream Machines

## Time Essay

# The Irrational Fight Against Nuclear Power

**B**ack in the benign 1950s, Americans looked on the atom as a friend, a cheerful Reddy Kilowatt that would provide cheap, abundant electricity to run their factories, power their TV sets and even chill the beer they drank while watching them. Today much of this enthusiasm has not only evaporated but turned into antipathy. Antinuclear activists have slowed construction of power plants from Seabrook, N.H., to Diablo Canyon, Calif. Angry people in Texas, New Mexico and Washington have packed public meetings to protest government plans to use their areas for nuclear-waste disposal and to demand the removal of wastes already stored there. Countless Americans who have never picked up a picket sign are having serious second thoughts about nuclear power, and politicians are responding to these apprehensions. California voters rejected an antinuclear initiative only two years ago, but the state's legislature subsequently banned new nuclear construction until the problem of waste disposal has been solved. Last month Wisconsin imposed a ten-year moratorium on any new nuclear construction.

This opposition has had quite an impact. Five years ago, industry spokesmen were confidently predicting that the U.S. would have 1,000 reactors producing power by the year 2000, and utilities were ordering 40 new plants annually. But last year utilities ordered only four new nuclear plants and deferred or canceled plans to build seven more. An important reason for the slowdown is that demand for electric power has not risen as rapidly as forecasters anticipated. Yet another major factor is that delays—some necessary, others merely obstructionist—have stretched completion time of a plant to ten to twelve years. The possibility that plants now abiding may never be allowed to operate has frightened some power companies, which have no desire to be stuck with costly white elephants. By 2000, the Department of Energy predicts, the U.S. will have no more than 500 nuclear-power plants on line; it could have as few as 200, which would generate less than 20% of the country's electricity.

That would be too few. According to conservative predictions, the nation's need for electricity will more than double by that time. Where will the country get the energy to satisfy the need? And do it at a price that will keep its industries competitive with those of other nuclear countries?

Certainly not from oil or natural gas. Despite the current oil glut, the world's known reserves of both petroleum and natural gas are expected to be declining by the end of the century, and it would be folly to burn what remains to generate electricity. They are far too valuable as essential ingredients for plastics, fertilizers and other chemicals and as fuel for cars, trucks and planes.

Solar energy may ultimately do much to heat and cool homes and factories, but its large-scale use for electricity is a long way

off. Even a highly—some would say unrealistically—optimistic federal study forecasts that solar, wind and wave power and the conversion of sun-grown organic matter into methane would at best meet 20% of all U.S. energy needs by 2000.

Nuclear fusion, which could exploit an unlimited fuel supply and promises little contamination of the environment, cannot fill the gap either. Researchers at Princeton and other labs have made some progress on fusion, in which atomic nuclei are combined rather than split. But physicists think it will take decades of problem solving before they can even attempt to build commercial reactors.

Nor is coal the answer. Although the U.S. has an abundant supply, coal, like oil, is an exhaustible resource that would be better used in the chemical industry than for power. Deep mining is expensive, and some 100 miners are killed in accidents each year. Strip mining requires expensive reclamation if the land is not to be left looking like a lunar landscape. Coal-fired plants pump thousands of tons of pollutants into the environment annually, despite the installation of expensive scrubbers, which are often ineffective. Also, coal plants may heat up the earth's atmosphere, a phenomenon that could produce unknown and possibly unpleasant effects on climate.

In short, after weighing the alternatives, nuclear power is necessary. Why, then, the opposition? Some of it stems from an uneasiness about anything new or different and resembles the passionate, unthinking hostility that greeted powered looms, steam engines, railroads, automobiles and other technological advances. Much of the antipathy is emotional, the product of a

"Hiroshima mentality" that equates nuclear power with bombs and seeks to ban both. Since the U.S. withdrew from Viet Nam, resistance to nuclear power has become the new crusade for many members of a society that otherwise lacks compelling causes. Nuclear power is an inviting target for those who revolt against bigness—big science and technology, big industry that must build and manage reactors, big government that must safeguard and regulate them. Part of the opposition stems from a desire to return to the supposedly simpler good old days, in which people would do more for themselves and, as one bumper sticker suggests, SPLIT WOOD, NOT ATOMS.

**T**he opposition reflects a doubt that growth, once the watchword of the can-do American philosophy, is good. The skeptics ignore the reality that a slow-growth or no-growth philosophy could kill the promise of upward mobility. That may be acceptable to the middle- and upper-income people who dominate the antinuclear movement. But it would condemn the poor and the jobless to a perpetuation of their have-not status and could well endanger the future of American democracy, in which the social and economic inequalities of the



Utility reactor core under construction in Pennsylvania

free system are made tolerable by the hope of improvement.

Not all of the antinuclear arguments, however, are emotional. Many reasonable people entertain reasonable doubts about nuclear power. Their main arguments concern:

**SAFETY.** Only a handful of hysterics believe that a conventional nuclear plant could explode in a mushroom cloud and wipe out a city. But many fear less dramatic accidents, including "melt down," which could occur if a reactor lost the water used to control the temperature of its core, ruptured and released radioactive gas and other material. Many also worry about radioactive contamination and fear that those living near nuclear plants may be subject to constant and eventually deadly exposure to radiation.

The fears are understandable, but the record so far is reassuring. Nobody in the U.S. has been injured as a result of a commercial reactor accident since the first nuclear power plant went on line 20 years ago. Indeed, with all the legally required safety devices—such as strong containment vessels, automatic shutoffs and complete back-up systems—the risks of injury or death are extremely small. It has been estimated that even with 100 reactors operating (the U.S. now has 71), the odds that anybody will die in a reactor accident are 1 in 300 million a year. The risk of dying as a result of an automobile accident is 75,000 times as high. Nor does radiation now appear to be an unreasonable risk. Coal-fired plants actually emit slightly more radiation than nuclear reactors. Americans are already exposed to radiation from natural sources, color television and medical X rays. Routine operation of nuclear plants would add almost nothing to this exposure. In fact, a person living next door to a nuclear reactor in, say, New York, is exposed to less radiation than someone who lives in mile-high Denver.

**WEAPONS PROLIFERATION.** Antinuclear forces charge that the spread of nuclear plants will accelerate the proliferation of nuclear weapons, particularly in unstable nations. Opponents are even more concerned that the introduction of breeder reactors, which produce more plutonium than they consume, could make it easier for terrorists to steal fissionable materials for do-it-yourself bombs. Finally, they charge that safeguarding nuclear materials would require the creation of a police state that would also mean the end of civil liberties.

These allegations are clearly exaggerated. Stringent enforcement of security measures has kept fissionable materials safe—the country already handles such hazardous substances as explosives and deadly chemicals—without impinging upon personal freedoms. The U.S. decision not to sell uranium-enrichment and reprocessing technology abroad will do nothing to prevent weapons proliferation. Indeed, it will cost America its chance to control international traffic in nuclear materials. France and the Soviet Union are reprocessing nuclear fuels for shipment to other countries.

**NUCLEAR COSTS.** Says David Cromie of Chicago's antinuclear Citizens for a Better Environment: "The most damning word in the English language is 'uneconomic.'" Foes charge that nuclear power plants cost more to build than, say, coal-burning plants, running more than \$800 per kw, vs. around \$700 for coal. They also argue that nukes operate well below their projected capacities, making the power they generate even costlier.

Industry figures indicate otherwise. Nuclear plants do cost more than coal-fired ones to build, but they are no less reliable. Most U.S. nukes have operated or have been available about as many days as fossil-fuel plants, which must also undergo periodic shutdowns for maintenance or safety checks. The elec-

tricity they produce is often competitive. Over a two-year period, the New England Electric System, operating in a region that is far from fossil-fuel sources, provided consumers with a nuclear-generated kw-h for 1.23¢, or less than half the 2.59¢ for a kw-h generated by fossil fuels. A resident of Connecticut, which draws 60% of its electric power from nuclear plants, pays an average of \$25.13 for 500 kw-h a month. A resident of neighboring Rhode Island, which gets only 14% of its power from nukes, pays \$30.34 for the same amount.

**WASTE DISPOSAL.** Nuclear plants store most of their wastes, which average about 30 tons of spent fuel rods, in water-filled "swimming pools" on the plant premises. But many of these pools, intended to provide only temporary storage, are almost filled, and the wastes are piling up.

However, of those scientists who have studied the matter and expressed an opinion, the overwhelming majority believe the waste-disposal problem can be satisfactorily resolved. The reprocessing of spent nuclear fuels, which the U.S. Government has refused to allow in its ineffective effort to prevent proliferation of weapons, would convert much of the waste into fuel that would be burned up for power. The rest, say nuclear scientists, physicists and engineers, can be vitrified, or embedded in blocks of glass, then buried deep underground in geologically stable salt or rock formations. All the waste generated up to the year 2000 by U.S. power plants could be stacked 6 ft. high on a single football field.

Irrational opposition to nuclear power can only delay a solution to America's energy problems. But even if this opposition ends, some positive action is also essential. If the U.S. is to be assured of energy for the future, the present nuclear licensing process must be sensibly simplified. It is a byzantine snarl that Boston Attorney Thomas Dignan describes as "a full-employment bill for lawyers." Dignan's legal work for the Seabrook plant has generated a 5-ft. shelf of transcripts from a state hearing, 20 3-in.-thick volumes of applications to the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 13,522 pages of transcripts from the NRC hearings, a 5-ft. shelf of papers filed before the NRC's licensing board, and a whole forest's worth of other pleadings, briefs, exhibits and environmental impact statements.

Much of this paper-work morass can be avoided without compromising the safety or civil rights of anyone. The Administration's proposed nuclear licensing bill would allow the NRC to give final approval to plants that follow a standard, accepted design for construction on previously approved sites. In that way, it would eliminate some layers of review agencies and reduce the opportunities for opponents to reopen litigation on issues that have already been legally resolved by courts. Unfortunately, there will be no action on this proposal before 1979. Legislation to place the licensing process in the hands of fewer agencies (approvals may now be required from as many as 40) also should be introduced. This could reduce the time for completing a power plant to six years and thus help make construction costs lower and more predictable.

Nuclear power did much to help the U.S. get through the storms and coal strike that crippled fossil-fuel plants last winter, providing much of the electricity for hard-hit New England and the battered Midwest. Similarly, nuclear power could save the country from the specter of industrial shutdowns and power blackouts as the oil runs out. Even conservative estimates are that the U.S. will need 390 nukes to provide at least 27% of its electric power by 2000. The time to start building these plants is now. Otherwise, they will not be ready when the nation really needs them.

—Peter Stoler



Dignan with legal documents for Seabrook



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Judd Hirsch as New York cab driver in *Taxi*



Alien Robin Williams and Earthling Pam Dawber in *Mork & Mindy*

## Television

### The 1978-79 Season: III

*Fast TAXI, bouncy MORK, slow BEGINNING, odd KIDS*

**Taxi** (Tuesday, ABC, 9:30 p.m. E.D.T.). When a sitcom has this title, it is easy to guess what the show will be like: a crew of crabby New York cabbies, each one more eccentric than the last, will sit around a garage and trade wisecracks. Well, *Taxi* conforms to those anticipations, but only up to a point. There are plenty of laughs but no wisecracks. The cabbies are eccentric but they are not caricatures. There are even moments when the laughter stops. At those times, *Taxi* doesn't seem like a sitcom at all: it revs up and takes the audience on unexpected emotional detours.

There has never before been a sitcom written with the dramatic depth of this one. Other shows may have serious (usually mawkish) scenes or deal with topical issues. *Taxi* is about serious people. Though the drivers are in some ways conventional TV characters, they are also lost souls, losers set back by life's rude shocks. They dream hungrily of finer things—of love or loftier careers—and when their dreams collapse, they turn to one another for support. In the opening episode, a surprisingly melancholy sitcom premiere, one driver (Judd Hirsch) takes off for Florida to attempt a reunion with a daughter he abandoned 15 years earlier. The outcome is not entirely upbeat.

The acting is very good, especially by Jeff Conaway as a good-hearted, struggling actor-cabbie and Marilu Henner as the one female driver of the bunch. In more standard comic turns, *Saturday Night Live* regular Andy Kaufman brings a saving sweetness to the garage mechanic, who speaks his own variety of frac-

tured English. Danny De Vito barks his way through the role of the dispatcher with a Runyonesque brio. Like the other outstanding show of the new season, *WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Taxi* is the handiwork of *Mary Tyler Moore* alumni. Why doesn't someone give these people a network of their very own?

**Mork & Mindy** (Thursday, ABC, 8 p.m. E.D.T.). Were it not for one inspired stroke of casting, this sci-fi sitcom would be indistinguishable from the rest of the kiddies' drivel aired by ABC at 8 each night. Robin Williams, a new young comic, sends *Mork & Mindy* into hyperspace. The show casts him in the role of Mork, a friendly alien who settles in Boulder, Colo., with Earthling Mindy (Pam Dawber), after leaving the planet Ork. It's a premise more appropriate to Saturday morning TV than prime time, but Williams transforms trivia into a tour de force. He speaks in dozens of different voices that ape the sounds of computers and animals as well as other show-biz personalities. He tosses off inventive bits of mime and times his lines with a precision that rivals Johnny Carson's. Though the gags are vintage *My Favorite Martian*, Williams' improvisational verve makes them irresistible. In a matter of weeks, children all over the country will be imitating Mork's vocabulary of alien sounds. Otherwise rational adults may soon find themselves helplessly following suit.

**In the Beginning** (Wednesday, CBS, 8:30 p.m. E.D.T.). This typically combative Norman Lear sitcom might well be titled *Chico and the Father* or, perhaps, *Sanford and Nun*. Taking place in a slum

storefront mission, the show sets a middle-aged, by-the-Book priest (McLean Stevenson) against the activist young Sister Agnes (Priscilla Lopez). Even as they bicker about methodology and theology, this dynamic duo does its darnedest to show the light to local delinquent kids. Not that the hoods seem too terribly hard to reform: they look so cute and spiffy that it's a wonder they don't all have jobs as guides at Disneyland.

The show's jokes are coy attempts at blasphemy. ("Damn, I wish I could swear!" exclaims Sister Agnes.) Its liberal homilies sound preachy. Ex-*M\*A\*S\*H* Star Stevenson has a dry style that helps mitigate some of the sentimentality, but Lopez, a talented refugee from Broadway's *A Chorus Line*, cannot do anything with her cloying role. Sister Agnes is just too good to be true: she speaks in street slang, fights better than Bruce Lee and knows more about psychology than Dr. Joyce Brothers. In subsequent episodes, no doubt, she will burst into choruses of *Climb Ev'ry Mountain*—and maybe, God forbid, Sally Field will come around and teach her how to fly.

**Who's Watching the Kids?** (Friday, NBC, 8:30 p.m. E.D.T.). In this bizarre series, *Three's Company* has been cross-fertilized with *One Day at a Time*, *On Our Own*, *Sugar Time*, *Blansky's Beauties* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. A single TV reporter (Larry Breeding) lives a few steps away from two voluptuous Vegas showgirls (Caren Kaye and Lynnda Goodfriend) who are raising their kid siblings. For good measure, there's a sardonic landlord and wacky TV newsroom types. Get the picture? Originally called *Legs*, the show was revamped and re-titled by Fred Silverman after he arrived at NBC. No doubt the surgery was merited, but the patient has died on the operating table.

—Frank Rich

## Music

### Boston's Sonic Mystery Tour

*On the second pass, Tom Scholz's crew still flies high*

**E**nough of this overnight sensation business. Of course, no one had heard of Boston before their first album came out two years ago. Not even heavy corporate types around the record company, who got interested when this virtually unadvertised debut by an unknown group sold its first million albums. Interest grew keener when Boston doubled those sales, then doubled them again.

Nearly 6.5 million copies have now been sold. The success of *Boston* was so left field—as abrupt, decisive and cleaving as one of Leader Tom Scholz's guitar breaks—that the group came to be treated as if it had been freshly cloned for stardom. When Boston went back into the studio to make their second album, much hope was raised, but many doubts lingered. The new album, out a little more than a month, could settle the score. *Don't Look Back* shot to the upper regions of the charts; the album's title track, released as a single, is staking out heady territory in the Top Ten.

Boston does not make the kind of music that moves writers to darken the page with excerpted lyrics that snake through the columns like trenches. Scholz himself admits, "I never thought I was too good with lyrics," and the results of his struggles are at best serviceable ("And it gets harder every day for me! To hide behind this dream you see? A man I'll never be"). It's the music that is, well, if not wholly memorable, at least for the moment unique.

A typical tune will start with a strong melodic hook—sometimes tough, sometimes close to lilting—then build in volume and intensity, the instruments laying

under and layering on one another until the song shatters around your ears like a sheet of glass falling off a fast-moving truck. This is heavy-metal music with easy-listening inflections, rock fierce enough for the FM stations, flighty enough to fit right into Top 40 AM radio.

"I guess the sound is three things," says Scholz. "Power guitars, the harmony vocals and the double-guitar leads." He was heavily influenced by "raunchy stuff, like Cream and Led Zeppelin." He first heard a dual-guitar harmony on an old Zep cut, *How Many More Times*, and expanded the Boston sound from there. But Scholz slips his music through so many acoustical refinements that the result is one part raw energy, another part applied science. "I was really annoyed about the first album," Scholz told TIME's Jeff Melvin. "My primary love of the sounds of rock 'n' roll—guitars—didn't come through the way I wanted." So this time out, Scholz, who has an M.S. in mechanical engineering from M.I.T. and six years working at Polaroid behind him, started asking questions. "Engineers would tell me, 'This mike sounds good on a snare drum,' and I'd ask why. They'd say, 'I don't know, it just sounds good.'" Scholz bought some analyzing equipment, started studying Boston's sound and changing the frequency dispersion of the instruments.

The music is too raucous to be antiseptic, even if Scholz does sometimes talk like the star pupil on *Mr. Wizard*. The other members of the group, Vocalist Brad Delp, Guitarist Barry Goudreau, Drummer Sib Hushian, Bass Player Fran

Sheehan, are all suburban kids from the Boston area who played the local bar band circuit. Scholz, who comes from Toledo, began his recording career with some elementary equipment in the basement of his Boston apartment. He stuck sandbags in the windows to protect the neighbors from acoustic aftershock, drafted Delp as vocalist and enlisted Goudreau for second guitar, then rolled the tapes. The resultant demos were repeatedly rejected, even as he continued to scan his VU meters and twist the dials on his sound board.

**W**hen Epic Records finally accepted a demo tape, Scholz had been playing an exclusive engagement in his own basement for some two years. He corralled pals Hashian and Sheehan, hastily formed Boston and thrust them all into snug celebrity. "We get the best of both worlds," says Delp. "We're not that recognized offstage so we can pretty much live our own lives."

Scholz is currently at some pains to shake off any air of the laboratory that might undercut Boston's music, even inserting a sort of consumer advisory on the inside cover of *Don't Look Back*: "No Synthesizers Used. No Computers Used." The band now travels between concerts in a four-engine Viscount, but their live shows still bear as much resemblance to the scruffy bar bands they sprang from as to the intricately wired megagroup they have become. Crowds, however, respond to each song with the heat of partisans and the heady spirits of inveterate partiers. "It's not like the old hippie days, though," Scholz says, "when you had to be into drugs to be into music. The group's not into hard drugs either. Compared to the heavy-metal groups I know about, we're completely clean. Hope that doesn't lose us too many hard-drug users." — Jay Cocks

"No Synthesizers Used. No Computers Used." Boston's Scholz (left) and Goudreau in concert; the group in Scholz's studio



# Why do so many parents make sure their kids get enough vitamins but forget about themselves?

When you were a kid, your parents tried to make sure you ate the right foods. And your parents also wanted you to get enough vitamins, everyday.

If you are a parent now, you're probably doing the same thing for your own children, because you know how important vitamins are for their good health. But do you know vitamins are also important for your good health? **Vitamins are essential to good health.**

The body requires vitamins and minerals to maintain its life support systems. These nutrients are essential elements in the body's process of converting food to energy and in building body tissues.

Facts prove that it's very possible to come up short on vitamins over a period of time with gradual depletion of body stores. Then, once levels are significantly depleted, noticeable symptoms can result. You can lose your appetite and then your weight. Often increased irritability, sleeplessness or drowsiness occur. Lowering of vitamin levels over extended periods can change your body's chemistry and, in turn, result in abnormal metabolism. This can affect your performance. You may be vitamin insufficient and not even know it.

## Take a hard look at your own eating habits.

If you believe that your diet is nutritionally balanced, you might be wrong. The U.S. Health and Nutrition Survey states that over half of all U.S. households do not have nutritionally balanced diets. Another study proved that vitamin deficiencies were not limited to age or income. More than one-third of all Americans with incomes of \$10,000 or more had diets below the recommended daily allowance (U.S.R.D.A.) for one or more nutrients. When you examine your own diet, consider your breakfast. Did you skip it or just have a cup of cof-

fee? What about lunch? Too busy to eat lunch right or are you watching your weight? And by dinner time, do you then eat the proper foods?

## Drinking? Smoking? The Pill? Dieting?

You may also be robbing your body of vitamins by heavy drinking. Alcohol may interfere with the body's utilization of vitamins B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>6</sub>, and folic acid. And heavy drinking is frequently accompanied by poor eating habits, further reducing vitamin intake.

If you smoke, the odds are your vitamin C level is being depressed. Studies show that people who smoke 20 or more cigarettes a day may have vitamin C blood levels up to 30% lower than non-smokers.

And if you take birth control pills, you may need two to ten times the normal amount of vitamin B<sub>6</sub> and folic acid requirements increase, also.

If you're dieting or if you're a finicky eater, you may be eliminating foods that contain many vitamins including C, E, and B-complex.

## You may need extra vitamins. Know how to get them.

There are a variety of ways to make sure you get enough vitamins. First, eat a balanced diet. Today, many foods are vitamin enriched and fortified, so look at the nutritional labels of the foods you buy.

Just to be sure, you can take vitamin supplements daily. There are a number of different formulations including multiple vitamins and B-complex with C. Since vitamins are essential for good health, isn't it worth a few cents a day to protect yourself?

Vitamin Information Service, Hoffmann-La Roche Inc., Nutley, New Jersey 07110.



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## Forced Busing and White Flight

*New school study seems to link them closer than ever*

**B**ack in 1975, Chicago Sociologist James Coleman, having looked at the early figures, felt called upon to report what most Americans thought they knew already: court-ordered busing to achieve racial balance in large U.S. cities and to ensure that more blacks and whites go to school together was causing a great deal of white flight from city schools.



David Armor

If the finding came as no great surprise, its source was a considerable shock. Coleman was the man whose 1966 report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, had served as the main academic proof of the values of desegregation. Yet here he was, questioning the usefulness of busing. Coleman, of course, was merely asking whether, in the long run, "forced busing might not defeat the purpose of increasing overall contact among races in schools."

To many people, though, the question seemed virtually un-American. For months sociologists kept busy stomping all over Coleman's findings. His conclusions were premature, they said. There was no hard proof that white flight from city schools, already a phenomenon before the threat of busing, was significantly increased by busing. And even if such a connection might one day be proved, the condition was likely to be short-lived. In any case it would take years to measure the matter adequately. Three years have passed. Now comes a new study that has the advantage of being able to see the effects of busing in a slightly longer perspective. Produced by Harvard-trained David Armor, 39, a senior sociologist at the Rand Corp., the report seems to bear out many of Coleman's early fears.

Armor measured white flight over a six-year period in 23 Northern and Southern cities that had court-ordered mandatory busing. They also had accessible suburbs, school districts with an enrollment of at least 20,000 students and a large minority population (more than 20%). Then he compared his figures with a projected loss of white students that would have taken place without forced busing, based on established demographic patterns of white exodus and predictable birth rates. The results were remarkably consistent.

Against a projected white-student loss without busing that varies roughly between 2% and 4% over the six-year period, the average rate of real white loss quickly rose toward 15% for the first year of busing, then dropped some, to about 7% to 9%, during the next three years. Predictably, the highest rates of white loss occurred in districts where large numbers

of whites were forced to bus into predominantly nonwhite schools. "The size of the flight is both large and long-term," Armor concludes, and he estimates that 30% to 60% of it is due to forced busing.

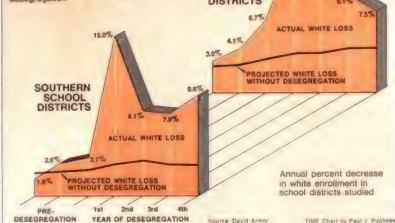
Critics have already begun finding fault with Armor. He has been taken to task for not running more comparative studies in districts where results proved favorable to busing. He has been accused of exaggerating the influence of busing on white flight. His most significant contribution, the projection of white-flight levels likely to occur without busing, has been

porating suburbs under city control, then busing whites back into town to achieve balance. The courts have struck down such plans in Detroit and Richmond. Armor adds another glum note. After studying inconclusive results of the one metropolitan-integration plan tried so far, in Louisville, he says it does not seem to work. Whites, denied escape to near suburbs, move farther away, or flee into private schools. Even in sprawling Los Angeles, where, Armor thinks, some sort of metropolitan plan should be instituted and might work, the chances of getting approval seem small.

Armor has often testified in court hearings about mandatory busing plans. His personal hope for further progress boils down to a mixture of mandated school improvements—for instance, a court-ordered increase in the number of "magnet" schools to draw qualified whites and blacks from all corners of a city—and

### WHITE FLIGHT

from city schools in years before and after court-mandated desegregation



challenged. Above all, he has been reminded that the problem is complex, that nobody can tell how long white-flight loss percentages will stay high.

**N**onetheless, there is now considerable academic consensus that in large cities a significant linkage exists between white flight and forced busing. The fact that sociologists show signs of catching up with everybody else's common-sense observation should be reassuring. But in the spectrum of hope for improving the education of minorities and for guaranteeing constitutional rights that have been violated for a century, Armor's report is depressing. Finding forced busing counterproductive, at least in inner cities, he offers evaluations of alternative measures.

The first is the "metropolitan plan," which tries to block white flight by incor-

porating suburbs under city control, then busing whites back into town to achieve balance. The only hopeful example he gives, however, is San Diego. Using a voluntary system, the city has kept the level of white flight down (below 6% per year). But the increase in the actual number of whites and nonwhites going to school together—the real aim of integration—has been small. A similar failure to achieve much actual integration occurs in many forced-busing cities, as Armor keeps pointing out, but at a much greater cost in pain, dislocation and plain cash.

Perhaps significantly, Armor does not confront a fact that most parents, blacks especially, need no sociologist to remind them of. Without the constant threat of busing and the steady prodding of the courts, the amount of "voluntary" school integration in San Diego and elsewhere would probably have never occurred. ■



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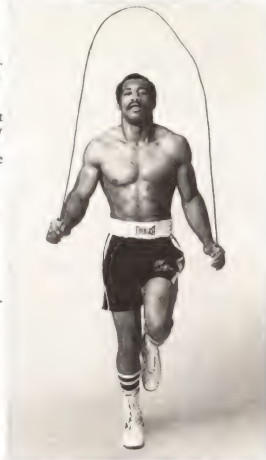
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# Science



Haya smelters making medium carbon steel in replica of centuries-old furnace

## Africa's Ancient Steelmakers

*The Haya were centuries ahead of European metallurgists*

**W**hen Anthropologist Peter Schmidt first visited the Haya people of Tanzania on the western shore of Lake Victoria, nine years ago, his goal was to study their complex heritage, which is passed orally from one generation to the next. On that and subsequent trips, he not only accomplished what he had set out to do but made a serendipitous discovery that alters the history of technology.

Writing in the current issue of *Science*, Schmidt and Metallurgy Professor Donald Avery, both of Brown University, report that as long as 2,000 years ago, the Haya people were producing medium-carbon steel in preheated, forced-draft furnaces. A technology this sophisticated was not developed again until nearly 19 centuries later, when German-born Metallurgist Karl Wilhelm Siemens, who is generally credited with using an open-hearth furnace, produced the first high-grade carbon steel.

Schmidt was led to his discovery by Haya elders, who showed him a "shrine tree" that they said marked the site of ancient iron smelters long worked by their people. Because the Haya can now buy inexpensive, European-made steel tools and make more money raising coffee and other crops, they stopped producing their own steel some 50 years ago. Thus the only Haya who could recall details of the steelmaking process were very old, and as Schmidt and Avery write, this knowledge was "threatened every day by the passage of time, by death and by age-related infirmities occurring in this quickly

shrinking group of expert smelters."

Two years ago, at the request of the scientists and working entirely from memory, the Haya constructed a traditional furnace. It was 1.6 meters (5 ft.) high, cone-shaped, made of slag and mud and built over a pit packed with partially burned swamp grass; these charred reeds provided the carbon that combined with the molten iron ore to produce steel. Eight ceramic blowpipes, or tuyères, extended into the furnace chamber near the base, each connected to a goatskin bellows outside. Using these pipes to force preheated air into the furnace, which was fueled by charcoal, the Haya were able to achieve temperatures higher than 1800° C (3275° F), high enough to produce their carbon steel.

Schmidt and Avery, certain that the Haya steelmaking process was very old, set out to trace its origins. What they found was beyond even their expectations. Last year, in excavations on the western shore of Lake Victoria, they discovered the remnants of 13 furnaces nearly identical in design to the one the Haya had built. Using radioactive-carbon dating processes on the charcoal, they found that these furnaces were between 1,500 and 2,000 years old, which proved that the sophisticated steelmaking techniques demonstrated by the contemporary Haya were indeed practiced by their ancestors. This discovery, the scientists conclude, "will help to change scholarly and popular ideas that technological sophistication developed in Europe but not in Africa."

## California's Fate

*A big quake in the offing?*

**T**hough California is plagued by frequent temblors, it has suffered only two major earthquakes in recorded history: the fabled and destructive San Francisco quake of 1906 and an even bigger shock in 1857, which rocked the then sparsely populated southern and central parts of the state. Now that California is the nation's most populous state, it could suffer incalculable damage and thousands of deaths in a major quake. Such a quake will almost certainly happen and, says a young California scientist, probably within the next half-century.

Kerry Sieh, 27, a Caltech geologist, bases his prediction on Southern California's earthquake history, which until recently was quite sketchy; the earliest reported quake, an apparently minor tremor described by a Spanish explorer, was chronicled in 1769. Seeking evidence of earlier quakes, Sieh in 1974 began a painstaking tour of hundreds of miles of the San Andreas Fault in central and southern California. The following year, under an ancient marsh that straddles the fault 88 km (55 miles) northeast of downtown Los Angeles, he struck pay dirt.

Bulldozing a trench four meters (13 ft.) deep, he found several distinct breaks in the strata of sand, silt, gravel and peat



Kerry Sieh anticipating next temblor

*A record in sand, silt, gravel and peat.*

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with pleasure!*  
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Kings: 18 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine, 100's: 19 mg. "tar",  
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**"Ballantine's.  
Damn good  
scotch."**



## Science

that had been deposited on the bottom of the marsh over the centuries. Each break represented a sudden shift of at least a meter or two between the land masses on opposite sides of the fault—unmistakable signs of a major earthquake. Using radioactive-carbon dating techniques to determine the age of the dead organic material in the peat layers, he has now determined that the quakes occurred around A.D. 575, 665, 860, 965, 1190, 1245, 1470 and 1745. Thus the intervals between the quakes varied from 55 to 275 years, and the average interval was 167 years. That was the information Sieh had been looking for.

Says he: "The important thing to remember is that prior to this research, we didn't know if major earthquakes in Southern California occurred every 1,000 years or every 100. Now we know." Because the last big quake hit the area in 1857, Sieh concludes, "a major earthquake can be expected there within the next 50 years or so rather than, say, the next 500." Sieh may well be right. His telltale marsh is only 24 km (15 miles) from Palmdale, the center of a region that has been bulging upward for 17 years in what some seismologists feel is a prelude to a major earthquake. ■

## The Overlooked

### *Greats fail to win Nobels*

"The world is full of people who should get the Nobel Prize but haven't got it and won't get it." That statement was made in 1963 by a man well qualified to comment on the awarding of the world's most prestigious scientific prizes: Swedish Chemist Arne Tiselius, a Nobel laureate and former president of the Stockholm-based Nobel Foundation. Tiselius' view, widely supported in the scientific community, has now been expanded and documented by a U.S. researcher. In an *American Scientist* article timed to precede the announcement next month of the annual Nobel awards, Columbia University Sociologist Harriet Zuckerman warns that the guiding policies of the Stockholm selection committees "threaten to undermine the great prestige and legitimacy" of the prizes.

The slighting of scientific greats by Nobel judges has been an issue practically since 1901, the first year the awards were made. In 1905, Zuckerman notes, a Nobel committee ruled against Russian Chemist Dmitri Mendeleev, nominated for his formulation of the periodic law and the table of elements. The committee reasoned that Mendeleev's 1869 work had already been widely accepted as a basic part of chemical knowledge. Thus, because the work of Dynamite Inventor Alfred Nobel limited Nobel Prizes to "recent" discoveries, Mendeleev did not qualify. A Nobel historian later called the Mendeleev decision a regrettable error. More recently,

Rockefeller Institute Biochemist O.T. Avery, who demonstrated in 1944 that deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) is the carrier of heredity, was first denied a prize because of skepticism about his claims. His death permanently excluded him from the Nobel roster; the award cannot be granted posthumously. Later, Nobel officials announced their regret at having rejected Avery.

To Zuckerman, the Avery and Mendeleev cases are only two of many examples of committee actions that will lead to more and more "first-class scientists who are destined not to win a Nobel Prize." In part, she notes, these omissions

fields like plate tectonics, a unified geological theory that explains continental drift, earthquakes, ocean trenches and mountain formation.

Zuckerman also dissents from the Nobel emphasis on empirical discoveries as opposed to theoretical contributions. Says she: "Darwin's principles of evolution would probably not have qualified." Indeed, Albert Einstein's Nobel Prize citation made only a cautious reference to his theory of relativity, first published 16 years before he became a Nobel laureate in 1921, while emphasizing the empirical consequences of his work on the photoelectric effect—the basis for "electric



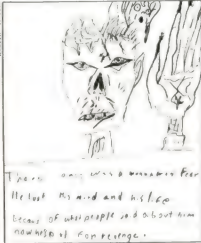
Columbia University Sociologist Harriet Zuckerman and photograph of Nobel Prize medal  
More and more first-class scientists are destined not to win.

are inevitable, because the number of scientists worldwide has grown some 30 times, while the number of science-prize recipients each year (seldom more than six) has remained more or less constant.

Another limit is imposed by the Nobel committees' own rules, which since 1901 have provided for annual Nobel science prizes in only three fields—physics, chemistry and physiology-medicine; in 1969 a fourth prize was added in economics. In addition, there are prizes for literary accomplishment and for contributions to world peace. Writes Zuckerman: "The prizes cannot go, however great the importance of their contributions, to mathematicians, earth and marine scientists, astronomers, and many kinds of geologists and behavioral scientists." She notes that the rules have been bent a bit—for Radio Astronomers Martin Ryle and Anthony Hewish in 1974, and for Ethologists Konrad Lorenz, Nikolaas Tinbergen and Karl von Frisch in 1973. But still unlikely to be considered for the Nobel Prize are pioneers in exciting new

eyes," television cameras and motion picture sound equipment.

Many of Zuckerman's criticisms have been considered in the past by members of various Nobel committees; in fact, the present article developed from interviews with laureates and Nobel officials that she conducted for her 1977 study of the Nobels, *Scientific Elite*. As Zuckerman acknowledges, Nobel judges generally argue that the roster of prizewinners is not intended as an all-inclusive list of the best scientific work. But Zuckerman fears that unless eligibility becomes wider, the premier reputation of the Nobels is bound to decline. However the Nobel Foundation eventually responds to her criticisms and those of others, the increasing numbers of first-rate scientists in all disciplines make it likely that the Nobel Prizes will continue to commemorate excellence, as Zuckerman notes, "not throughout the domain of science and not for all contributions of the first importance within the fields singled out for attention, but only in a few symbolic cases." ■



Despondent child and two drawings by a twelve-year-old boy who told psychiatrist during treatment that he felt "awfully miserable" inside

## Children Who Want to Die

*Their suicide attempts and depressions concern researchers*

**A**n eight-year-old boy tried to hang himself, and failed only because he could not tie a good enough knot. A nine-year-old girl attempted suicide twice—her mother saved her once by yanking away a bottle of rubbing alcohol she was trying to drink, the next time by grabbing her after she had swung one leg over an eighth-floor balcony. Other young children have tried to die by setting fires in their homes, jumping off rooftops, taking fistfuls of pills and slashing their wrists.

Actual suicides by children under 14 are still rare; fewer than 200 a year occur in the U.S. But investigators are finding that attempted suicides and deep depression are unexpectedly common among emotionally disturbed youngsters. Psychiatrist Joaquim Puig-Antich of Columbia University, who has conducted a pilot study in this little-explored area, estimates that perhaps one out of every 200 American prepubertal children is despondent enough to think of suicide. Of the 50 depressed children he has treated over the past three years, 70% had suicidal thoughts and about a third had tried to kill themselves.

From questionnaires filled out in public school classes in Toronto, University of Pittsburgh Psychologist Maria Kovacs found that 41% of the 127 children surveyed admitted having thought about suicide. A similar study conducted in Philadelphia suggests a comparable figure. Another study at U.C.L.A.'s Neuropsychiatric Institute concluded that 5% of the 662 preadolescent children treated there over a four-year period were seriously self-destructive or suicidal. Morris Paulson, the clinical psychologist who conducted the U.C.L.A. study, found a common de-

nominator among these disturbed youngsters: "Every one of them had a home that wasn't providing the understanding and caring that the child needed."

Neither race nor family income appears to be a relevant factor in the emergence of suicidal tendencies. But Paulson notes that many of the children come from families where "there tends to be a concept of guilt induced as a means of controlling the child's behavior." For such troubled kids, adds U.C.L.A. Child Psychiatrist Gabrielle Carlson, suicide is not just a way of escaping problems; the child often blames himself for family troubles and comes to believe that he deserves to die.

According to the investigators, girls try suicide as often as boys, but troubled males are usually easier to spot because of erratic behavior like temper tantrums, violent acts and running away from home. Girls, on the other hand, usually hide deep depression behind psychosomatic symptoms: headaches, nervous quirks and excessive weight gains or losses. Both sexes exhibit such warning signs as dramatic changes in school performance, insomnia, irritability and a tendency to be involved in mishaps. Says Paulson: "Serious accidents happening to any child over six require a social evaluation of the family to see if there are family stresses provoking a child to drink poison or run into traffic."

Puig-Antich has also been studying the families of suicidal children. He has found that half of all relatives, going back to grandparents, are either alcoholics or depressives. Such familial patterns have led some researchers to wonder whether there may be a genetic factor in the kind of depression that sometimes leads to sui-

cide. "My hypothesis is that there is one," says Puig-Antich. Yet like other scientists, he concedes that the tendency of depression to run in families may only mean that distraught parents often pass on their troubles to their children. Whatever the cause of the suicidal drive, experts agree that kids can be as vulnerable as adults. Says Carlson: "If an adult has the bad feeling that his life is not worth living, and he has the means to end it, there's no reason why an eleven-year-old can't do it too."

## Women Talk

*But men cut in*

**W**anda: Did you see here that two sociologists have just proved that men interrupt women all the time? They—

**Ralph:** Who says?  
**Wanda:** Candace West of Florida State and Don Zimmerman of the University of California at Santa Barbara. They taped a bunch of private conversations, and guess what they found. When two men or two women are talking, interruptions are about equal. But when a man talks to a woman, he makes 96% of the interruptions. They think it's a dominance trick men aren't even aware of. But—

**Ralph:** These people have nothing better to do than eavesdrop on interruptions?

**Wanda:** —but women make "retrievals" about one-third of the time. You know, they pick up where they left off after the man—

**Ralph:** Surely not all men are like that, Wanda.

**Wanda:** —cuts in on what they were saying. Doesn't that—

**Ralph:** Speaking as a staunch supporter of feminism, I deplore it, Wanda.

**Wanda:** (sigh) I know, dear.

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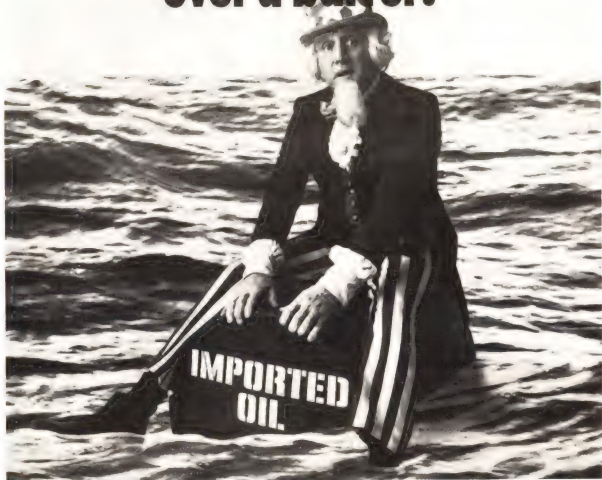
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dependence on imports of foreign oil?

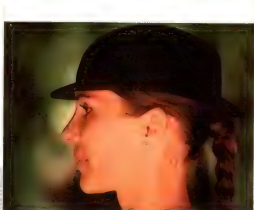
At Texaco we believe that we can all do more to conserve the gasoline and fuel we now use. And our energy supplies from alternate sources must be developed more quickly. Also, our country's exploration and production must be stepped up wherever prospects are promising. That's why we're doing so much to develop domestic oil supplies.

None of us want to see America caught over a barrel.



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Arne Hoffman, ballerina and wife of Actor Dustin Hoffman, models some new hats: a fedora, a pillbox and a derby

## Living

### Hats Off to Hats

*Wit and whimsy for the head*

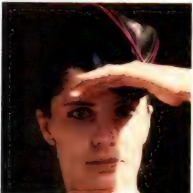
**T**he hat is back! With this fall's revival of the neatly proportioned, high-glamour image of the '40s, the little hats of yesteryear are once again topping off designer collections in Paris and the U.S. Scorned for over a decade as too matronly or dressy, hats are no longer worn with somber propriety but with a playful insouciance that adds a dash of humor to the sophisticated silhouette. Tipped forward on the head at a rakish angle and frequently garnished with feathers and fur, the new hats are, as Couturier Karl Lagerfeld of Chloé says, "little jokes to be worn like the dot of the letter i."

**E**choing Paris' tongue-in-cheek use of millinery, American hats create a kind of instant costume chic. "Young women end up buying a whole wardrobe of them," says Barbara Ashley, Bloomingdale's millinery buyer, who has stocked her hat bar with models ranging in price from \$10 to \$250. There are stylized versions of men's classic hats—snappy black derbies and soft, shallow fedoras—as well as girlish takeoffs on student beanies, sailor hats and soldier caps. Perhaps most popular of all is the cocktail hat. Feminine flourishes of velvet and silk, they are embroidered with sequins, strewn with rhinestones and bedecked with veils. Says Designer Hubert Givenchy: "They almost change a woman's behavior. When a woman wears a veil, she does not walk the same way as when she is wearing jeans."

Halston, the designer who started his career as a milliner, believes that "a spectacularly flattering hat is the ultimate ornamentation. When Queen Elizabeth has a white-tie party, she wears her crown. It sets her apart from everyone." The right hat, chosen from today's many mad caps, can do the same for any woman.



**The toque, the beanie, the pillbox**  
*An insouciance adding a dash of humor*



**The sailor, the glamour girl, the Nehru**  
*A whole wardrobe to fit different moods*

# ANNOUNCING 1979

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THE 1979 PONTIACS  OUR BEST GET BETTER



Nelson and friend belt it out at the White House



Sartre and Beauvoir play tourist at a Rome café

## People

As a duo, they weren't bad. **Willie Nelson's** slightly nasal baritone complemented **Rosalynn Carter's** soft soprano, and the crowd clapped rousing to the music. The First Lady had no trouble with the lyrics since both she and **Jimmy** know Nelson's hits by heart. The setting was the White House lawn, where Nelson, the king of outlaw country, put on a stompin' good show last week. The most eye-opening song of the evening: *Up Against the Wall, Redneck Mother*. The President himself, a stock car racing buff and Nelson's No. 1 fan, had planned the party for members of the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing, some of whom rolled up to the "diplomatic entrance" in their Day-Glo colored "stockers." Alas, Jimmy couldn't get away from his Israeli and Egyptian guests at Camp David, and Rosalynn was left to entertain the down-home folks.

The spooky, spaced-out waif of *Carrie* and *3 Women* is growing up—and dressing up. "I love to get all duded up. It's one of the real me's," says **Sissy Spacek**, 28, who struts about in diamonds and furs for her first role as a mature woman in *Heart Beat*. The movie tells the story of the late Beat author **Jack Kerouac** and of **Neal Cassady**, a onetime car thief and the model for Dean Moriarty in Kerouac's 1957 novel *On the Road*.

Spacek plays Carolyn, a well-bred commercial artist who is married to Neal. To research the role, Spacek read a 1,400-page manuscript written by Carolyn and concluded that she was a well-educated, glamorous, "classy lady." Portraying her, reflects the new, womanly Spacek, is a challenge. "Before, I've always stretched backward in time," she says. "This time I'll be stretching forward."



Spacek in *Heart Beat*

The Sandown raceway in Melbourne was packed with 61,500 people, there to see the car that had been flown in from Stuttgart and the driver from Argentina. "It's like meeting an old friend," said **Juan Fangio**, 67, five-time world racing champion, as he clambered into the cockpit of the Mercedes-Benz "Silver Arrow" that he had driven to victory in world title races in 1954 and 1955. "But," he added, "please do not think I am going to do the same things I did many years ago. This car has been in a museum and soon I will be in a museum too." Fangio warmed up by driving in a regularity trial with Australian Prime Minister **Malcolm Fraser**, a fast-car enthusiast, sitting in the mechanic's seat. Then in an event billed as "The Race of Champions" Fangio drove alone in the Mercedes, touching 165 m.p.h. during the 8.7-mile course and crossing the finish line one length behind three-time World Champion **Jack Brabham**, 52.

Each evening they stroll through the streets of Rome, she holding fondly on to his arm. Then Author **Simone de Beauvoir**, 70, and Philosopher **Jean-Paul Sartre**, 73, sit and sip *apéritifs* at an outdoor café and dine in their favorite restaurants in the Piazza Navona. The Parisian couple's mutual devotion during 49 years of intimacy is nearly matched by

their attachment to Rome—where they have spent part of every summer for the past 25 years. "We have no work plans at all right now," says Beauvoir. "We're just enjoying our vacation." As a friend describes the pair's *dolce vita*, "They're leading a calm life, and trying to make the most of their time—just like any retired couple."

### On the Record

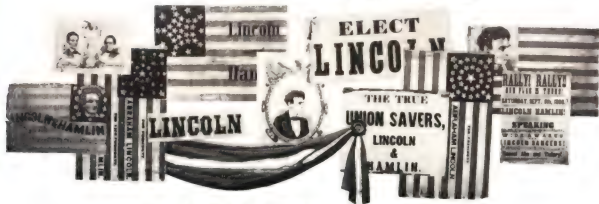
**Kylene Barker**, the first Miss Virginia to take the long walk as Miss America, after winning the crown: "Ah hope Ah can always be fresh and bubbly."

**Pope John Paul I**, speaking about God at his regular Sunday Angelus blessing in St. Peter's Square: "He is Father. Even more, God is Mother, who does not want to harm us."

**Charles Schulz**, creator of *Snoopy*: "We used to have a dog named Snoopy, you know, a real live dog. I suppose people who love Snoopy won't like it, but we gave him away. He fought with other dogs, so we traded him in for a load of gravel."

**Lord Charles Spencer-Churchill**, Sir Winston's cousin, who has decided to go into the men's wear manufacturing business: "A Churchill has to do whatever comes along."

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## Malady in Manhattan

### Legionnaires' disease strikes

Immediately after investigating the recent outbreak of Legionnaires' disease at Indiana University, the indefatigable detectives of the U.S. Center for Disease Control in Atlanta had to respond to yet another alarm. The mysterious malady had erupted in Manhattan's crowded garment district. There, within a few city blocks, at least 75,000 men and women are jam-packed by day, their indoor working conditions made bearable only by generous use of air conditioning.

When New York City hospitals began suspecting Legionnaires' disease as the cause of the unusual type of pneumonia from which six garment-district patients were suffering, they sent blood samples first to the CDC laboratory in Manhattan for analysis and then to Atlanta. The CDC confirmed the diagnosis. By then two victims had died, both deliverymen, who trundle racks loaded with dresses through traffic-choked streets. Investigators looking for clues to the source of the outbreak instantly checked to see if the two worked for the same shop; they did not, but were employed on the same block. A woman worker from a third shop near by had died, probably a victim of Legionnaires' too. With nothing to indicate a single, discrete source of infection, the only recourse was to sanitize the entire neighborhood.

The city's government acted swiftly. Mayor Edward Koch appointed his deputy director of operations, Paul Caswell,



Cleaning New York City's garment district  
Scrubbed down as never before.

to head a task force coordinating the efforts of city agencies combatting the disease. Working in what resembled a war room, Caswell ordered air-conditioning systems in the area shut off. The CDC's investigators had traced the earlier Indiana outbreak to an air conditioner with a bacteria-contaminated water supply. City inspectors swarmed through the district, taking water samples from air-conditioning systems, and draining and sterilizing rooftop tanks where the water was stored. Below, sanitationmen hosed down the streets and added a dash of

mild pine oil to sweeten the smell.

Caswell also set up two telephone hot lines for New Yorkers worried about having Legionnaires' disease to call in and discuss their symptoms. Almost 16,000 hot-line calls were logged in eight days. Health department technicians in a mobile van took more than 300 blood specimens from people who thought they might be infected. One surprising result: many of those working in the garment district were found to have antibodies against the bacterium now known to cause the disease, indicating that they had been infected—without suffering any apparent symptoms—some time ago. This, in turn, suggested that the Legionnaires' bug had been around the district for a while. Hundreds of air and water samples were also checked for presence of the elusive bacteria. All tests proved negative, and the program has now been discontinued.

As some cases of Legionnaires' disease were added to the list while other suspected cases were struck off, the number of possible victims bobbed up and down around the 100 mark, with only eight positively confirmed. Last week Koch's commandos and the CDC detectives agreed that the outbreak had apparently passed its peak. The workers, glad to have the area scrubbed down and cleansed as never before, were jubilant as air conditioning was turned on again—an event that generated a block-long sign of relief in Macy's huge department store, which borders the district. At week's end rack carts carrying fall fashions jockeyed through traffic and pedestrians as usual. As mid-September buyers swarmed in, the garment district's business was back to normal.

## Milestones

**DIED. Ronnie Peterson, 34**, Swedish racing ace; of injuries suffered in a fiery ten-car crash during the first lap of the Italian Formula One Grand Prix at Monza; in Milan. Starting as a "go-cart" driver at the age of eight, the shy, cool-nerved Peterson eventually raced in more than 100 Grand Prix events, and this year ranked second behind Mario Andretti in the world championship driver standings. Asked if he ever became scared, Peterson, the veteran of some 30 accidents, replied, "No, not really. If I did I think I would give it up." The fatal wreck stirred fellow drivers to demand either the closing or complete remodeling of the 56-year-old Monza course, considered by many to be too narrow and fast a track.

**DIED. George Bliss, 60**, award-winning investigative reporter for the Chicago *Tribune*; by his own hand, after apparently shooting and killing his wife; in Oak Lawn, Ill. A series on a scandal-infested

municipal sanitary district won him a Pulitzer Prize in 1962; subsequently, he headed inquiries into election fraud and federal housing programs that garnered his paper two more Pulitzers. According to *Tribune* Editor Clayton Kirkpatrick, Bliss was a "perfectionist who agonized over details and in effect became a victim of his own intense devotion to journalism."

**DIED. Valerian Gracias, 77**, one of India's three Roman Catholic Cardinals and the Archbishop of Bombay; of cancer; in Bombay. In 1953 Gracias became the first Indian-born Cardinal, and in 1964 he was host to Paul VI on the first papal visit to the Far East. Ill since last May, Gracias did not attend the election of Pope John Paul I in Vatican City.

**DIED. Willy Messerschmitt, 80**, German industrialist and aircraft designer whose single-engine fighter plane dominated Luftwaffe squadrons during World War

II; after surgery, in Munich. Awarded a glider pilot's license at the age of 15, Messerschmitt first gained fame building light sports planes. The young, soft-spoken engineer specialized in increasing aircraft speed and soon received military assignments. During the war, German factories filled European and African skies with 40,000 of his ME-109 fighters and ME-110 twin-engine bombers, aircraft so effective that Allied pilots who displayed bad nerves were said to have "the Messerschmitt twitch." In 1941 he developed the world's first combat jet, but Hitler stalled its production until the Third Reich's final days. Held in custody for two years after the war, and like other German aircraft makers forced to observe a ten-year Allied ban on production, Messerschmitt turned to building sewing machines, prefab houses and three-wheel midget autos. In the early 1950s he again began to design planes, first in Spain for Franco and later in Germany.



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Today Chahbahar commands what has been called the jugular vein of the western industrial world.

The overwhelming bulk of all the oil in international trade, more than 20 million barrels per day, passes in oil tankers out of the Persian Gulf within a short radius of Chahbahar. The tankers pass at an average rate of one every six minutes and they carry more oil than through the Suez and Panama Canals combined.



As part of the on-going revolution led by the Shah of Iran Mohammad Reza Pahlavi which has transformed this nation, the Imperial Iranian Air Force has become one of the technologically advanced and powerful air forces of the world, and by command of the Shah the mission of the air force is to protect this lifeline for Iran and the world.

In ordering the construction of the 80-square mile, multi-million dollar air base, the Shah called for the maximum beneficial impact on the well-being of the people in the vicinity as an opening major development effort that would ultimately embrace the whole of the Mokran.

The Imperial Iranian Air Force responded to this command with distinction, making every effort to benefit the population.

For the five year construction period we would have to house and feed a labour force of more than 7,000 people in an area that previously could support less than 3,000 people with a precarious existence at the bare level of subsistence.

Thus the first task was to build up an assured supply of water and food.

We found a suitable water table under a dry river bed some 40 kilometers from the western arm of the bay. Tapping it with deep wells, we brought the water in over the hills on an 18-inch diameter pipeline. Then we built an ice factory to make it cold.

We brought in herds of cattle to provide fresh milk and meat. Then we built silos for wheat so that we could have bread.

Until the landing strips could be built most of the equipment had to come in on a 2,800 kilometer overland truck, crossing long stretches without proper roads, part of the journey on an

old river bed. On this stretch in sudden flash floods, we lost whole crews with their trucks and all their loads.

With the first temporary runways in, the Imperial Iranian Air Force mounted a massive airlift, flying in men and materials on huge C-130s.



As houses were built and electricity generated, the Mokran began to look less forbidding. We began to like the area and to feel it was home.

Chahbahar, it didn't take us long to discover, has the finest beach in all Iran with an excellent surf. It teems with edible fish and there are shrimps as big as sausages and lobsters as big as your arm.

We had hired every locally available man and woman, and we soon found the people enterprising, quick to learn new skills and ready to work hard.

Over a five year period we were paying out an average of \$2 million a month in wages, which had an obvious impact on the local economy.

The company medical staff ran a preventive medicine campaign, vaccinating everyone, and opening the clinic to all, free of charge for any treatment including childbirth.

We encouraged many of the local people to purchase our heavy earth moving and construction equipment

from us on favourable terms after learning how to use the equipment properly at our training schools. We then rented from them, and backed them up with maintenance and spare parts. In this way we created dozens of profitable businesses which are set up for the extraordinary development ahead.

Soon the camels and the donkeys were replaced by trucks and motor bikes as the people grew more prosperous and as we built some 500 kilometers of roads.

As the air base began to take shape, old huts were torn down and town housing rose, gardens sprang up, restaurants were built, and even boutiques made their appearance.

We came to a village and when we turned over the base we left a town.

The Imperial Iranian Air Force could alone sustain this town. But soon the Imperial Iranian Navy will come in with a giant naval base. The ground forces will come in with facilities of their own. The National Iranian Oil Company will come with a jetty and fuel depots. The South East Water and Power Authority will build a 50,000 cubic meters per day water desalination plant and major power station. A commercial port and fisheries industry is developing.

In short, Chahbahar has a future. Not as a town, but as a modern city.

As an Iranian construction company we are proud to have played a modest role in pioneering the development of an area through the building of an air base.

MAHAK B COMPANY  
243 Takhite Jamshid Ave.,  
Tehran Iran

A. M. Kashfi



The bridal family: Carol Burnett, Amy Stryker, Paul Dooley in *A Wedding*

## Subversives

### A WEDDING

Directed by Robert Altman  
Screenplay by John Considine,  
Patricia Resnick, Allan Nicholls  
and Robert Altman

It begins as a comedy of expensive manners, a satirical account of the marriage between a young man of good family and a young woman of not such good, but equally well-off family. They don't have just a photographer to record this less-than-historic occasion, an entire documentary film crew has been engaged to shoot it. And the presiding clergyman is not merely the local minister but a bishop no less, and what matter that his miter is sweat-stained or that he is senile?

Then *A Wedding* cracks open, revealing disorders deeper than social pretension. The matriarch of the groom's family dies in her upstairs bedroom as the wedding party returns home for the reception, and those who know of it conspire to keep it a secret until the party is over. But the immediate cause of death may have been her discovery that no one beyond the immediate family has accepted the invitation. Seems they're still ostracizing the groom's mother because of a brief marriage years before to an Italian waiter. Of course that lady is a drug addict who gets her fixes from the alcoholic family doctor.

Not that the bride's family is any bargain. They seem to be collateral relatives of the Snopeses. If the bride's sister has not been made pregnant by the

groom, then the deed was done by one of his 20-odd barracks mates from the military academy. Her uncle is a fundamentalist minister who got the call from God speaking through a Holiday Inn TV set. Her mother spends much of the wedding day arranging to meet an absurdly romantic uncle of the groom's in a motel across from a Dairy Queen in Tallahassee.

Perverse? No, the picture is downright subversive, a brutal comic assault on that most basic of institutions, the family. The attack is every bit as relentless, unfair and "tasteless" as Altman's devastation of the military was in *M\*A\*S\*H*. Although the family is certainly undergoing change and questioning, the director does not have a national mood of disgust (which Viet Nam provided for the earlier picture) to support him. All he has is his own disarming skill as a moviemaker to keep audiences in an accepting mood.

It is very nearly enough. Many of his sharpest thrusts are contained in throwaway lines, which may be all but covered by the overlapping dialogue Altman loves to use. He demonstrates an uncanny skill at staging. His camera seems to eavesdrop almost simultaneously on a dozen conversations that reveal, in a few lines of dialogue or a fleeting expression, brilliantly encapsulated characterizations. As always, his location is full of expressive artifacts, shrewdly chosen and revealed.

The casting is both daring and first-rate. Altman has somehow made an ensemble out of a group that includes (in no particular order of significance) Lillian Gish, Pat McCormick, Howard Duff, Vit-

torio Gassman, Dina Merrill, Nina van Pallandt, Lauren Hutton, Mia Farrow, Geraldine Chaplin, Desi Arnaz Jr., Amy Stryker, Paul Dooley, various veterans of his stock company and a title card full of newcomers. They are all wonderful. If someone deserves to be singled out, it is Carol Burnett, who plays the bride's uptight but restless mother. For her to appear in this film took guts; for her to play her part with such total commitment to its pathetic absurdity is an act of courage.

The picture has its flaws. It would not have been harmed by the introduction of a few characters who have some common decency. Even a certain amount of libidinal restraint might have made an interesting contrast to all the comings and goings into the bushes and the mansion's upstairs rooms. And the director and his co-writers had made clear their position about the nature of American middle-class life long before they tacked on a gratuitously fiery climax to the film.

For all that, however, one cannot help comparing the jumpy life of this film to the becalmed chill of that other recent assault on the sterility of bourgeois life, Woody Allen's *Interiors*. The contrast is all in favor of Altman. The people in *A Wedding* are capable of bursting their schematic bounds, of bouncing into wayward life and, in an odd way, undercutting the director's underlying message of disapproval. In the end, Altman the observant artist manages to subvert Altman the highly conventional social critic.

—Richard Schickel

## Good Conduct

### GO TELL THE SPARTANS

Directed by Ted Post  
Screenplay by Wendell Mayes

This unpretentious movie about a group of American "advisers" in Viet Nam in 1964, before the war was thoroughly Americanized, has the virtues of its defects. It is understated, lacking in powerful dramatic incident and high human emotion, and rather flatly written and directed. As a result, it has about it a realistically antiheroic air that is rare enough in any movie about any war, and a grubby brutality that matches memories of the news film that came out of Southeast Asia in the '60s and did so much to disgust the nation with U.S. involvement there.

Burt Lancaster, who has been playing veteran soldiers since long before he became a veteran actor, is in command of the American detachment and in solid command of the best starring role he has had in years (he was, of course, superb as the dying patriarch, a character role in Bertolucci's sprawling 1990). Without the slightest fuss, he gives us a portrait of a

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### More Car.

New standard features for '79:  
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• Body side moldings  
Still standard:  
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• Cut-pile carpeting • Four-speed manual transmission • Front disc brakes • Four-foot wide hatch



**STANDARD: Full Coil suspension system.**

• High Energy Ignition system • Delco Freedom battery • Body by Fisher • Extensive anti-



**STANDARD: Shift console, four-speed transmission.**

corrosion treatments • Cigarette lighter • And more.

### Less Money.

And it's all for an amazingly low price that's actually less than what last year's Monza would have cost with the same equipment.



**STANDARD: White-stripe tires and wheel covers.**



**STANDARD: High-back bucket seats.**



**STANDARD: AM radio. Sport steering wheel. Brushed aluminum accents.**





Monza 2+2 Hatchback. Sport interior (shown) extra.

car, more kicks, less money.

ment—based on Manufacturer's Suggested Retail Prices.

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available V6 or V8). Even more kicks with an upgraded level of quality in vinyl interior trim, and newly designed high-back front bucket seats. This year, Chevy Monza just might redefine

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STANDARD: Bumper rub strips, front and rear.



STANDARD: Tinted glass.



STANDARD: Wide hatch.



STANDARD: Body side moldings.



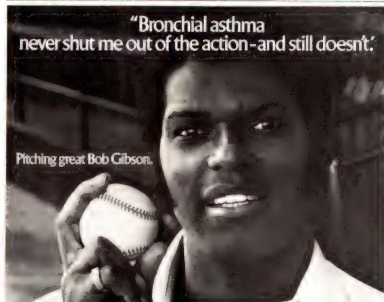
STANDARD: Fold-down rear seat.

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## Cinema

dutybound professional whose soldierly instincts tell him that his duty this time is madness. Revolt is beyond his character, but disgust is not. Lancaster's presence, carrying with it the memory of other wars (and a different sort of war movie), provides a kind of bench mark against which to measure the distance we have traveled from our former attitudes about the military necessity.

His problems here are an ill-equipped and ill-motivated local soldiery (they go into battle carrying shotguns), the corruption of the local district leader, a high command that doesn't understand the nature of guerrilla warfare, and a less-than-inspiring crowd of American helpers. Among them: A sergeant whose gung-ho spirit has been burned out in the war. A



Burt Lancaster as veteran Army officer  
*Duty this time was madness.*

lieutenant who moronically parrots—because he moronically believes—all the official rationales for the war, all the official ideas of how to conduct yourself on this dark and bloody ground. A sometime college student one suspects of having literary ambitions—he's looking for a war, any war, merely to experience it. These soldiers are mostly seen not as brutes, but as decent if limited men doing their best in an indecent situation.

Their job is to reoccupy and defend a former French outpost called Muc Wa, which they do successfully until there is an inexplicable change in strategy and they are forced to withdraw into ambush and massacre. The picture is good at catching the absurdity and futility of the operation, but in the long siege-and-re-treat sequence, Director Post's failure to rise above simple realism becomes a problem. The scenes here should be spookier

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## Cinema

and more suspenseful, imparting a developing sense of the madness of isolation in an alien land where the native enemy has all the advantages of terrain and bred-in-the-bones knowledge of it. There are hints of an effort in this direction (Muc Wa contains a cemetery for the French troops who died trying to defend it, with an inscription about the Spartans at Thermopylae that provides the picture's title: there is a one-eyed Viet Cong sniper who appears and disappears in a ghostly fashion), but they are never really developed.

Still, *Go Tell the Spartans* is, within its limits, an earnest and honest little picture that goes against the escapist grain of movies at this moment. The gesture is probably as futile, commercially, as defending Muc Wa was militarily, but you have to applaud the bravery of the effort and issue some kind of citation to a film that, all told, celebrates unconsciously honorable conduct by individuals enlisted in a bad cause. And offers a lot of good acting in the supporting roles too.

—Richard Schickel

## Hot Car

CORVETTE SUMMER

Directed by Matthew Robbins

Screenplay by Hal Barwood and

Matthew Robbins

To enjoy *Corvette Summer* it helps to abandon common sense. In this film there is not a single credible plot development or convincing character. What the movie offers instead is a few benign laughs, some neatly staged action sequences and a bit of appealing moralizing about the evils of materialism. As long as one doesn't demand too much of it, *Corvette Summer* delivers a very pleasant two hours of escape.

The film marks the graceful directing debut of Matthew Robbins, who, with partner Hal Barwood, wrote the scripts for *The Sugarland Express* and *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars Corvette Summer* shares the earlier films' jaunty, all-American tone. The hero is a recent high school grad, Kenny (Mark Hamill), who leaves home for Vegas after his prized Stingray is stolen. While chasing down the car, he meets up with a prattling, fledgling hooker (Annie Potts) who initiates him into sex. Suffice it to say that love and virtue eventually triumph over pimps and car thieves.

Though Hamill and Potts are appealing performers, their characters seem too single-minded, and at times simple-minded, for comfort. Their love affair as well as their search for the car are both overtly stage-managed. But Barwood believes in his movie's every frame, and his sincerity comes across in its exhilarating pace and tender moments. Though *Corvette Summer* relies on hot air rather than narrative propulsion for fuel, it breezes past the finish line.

—Frank Rich

## The Importance of Being Walter

France's leading anchor out-Cronkites Cronkite

One evening a few years ago, several agents of the French government slipped unobtrusively into the U.S. on one of the most daring assignments in the annals of international skulduggery. They checked into a midtown Manhattan hotel, spent much of the next few days watching the CBS *Evening News* in their rooms, and then fled the country as quietly as they had come, their mission accomplished. The mission? *Figurez vous!* To capture Walter Cronkite.

Not in the flesh, of course. But in spirit, nuance, mannerism, inflection and any other ephemeral component of credibility that might explain the graying CBS anchorman's enormous popularity. A faction in the state television monopoly wanted to replace the reigning crew of bland newsmen with a single, reassuringly credible, American-style anchorman—*en effet*, a French Walter Cronkite. In 1974 French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing made that scheme possible by splitting the monopoly into three parts. Officials of *Télévision Française 1*, one of the new state-owned but competing channels, were given only two months to find a suitable anchor, so they took a long shot: Roger Gicquel, a relatively obscure former airline steward, failed actor and radio-station executive who had never been in front of a TV camera.

For the first six months on the job, Gicquel recalls, he was only an actor playing the role of anchorman. "I must have seemed a bit awkward," he admits, "like I was wearing my Sunday suit." But, "little by little, I began to understand that it was necessary only to be like I really was." Much of Gicquel's appeal seems to lie in a kind of Gallic avuncular gloom, and an ability to register an appropriate flicker of sorrow, anger, levity or weariness in reaction to whatever news he is reading—the same reactions that viewers presumably are having. As Gicquel puts it, "I try to consider myself the recipient of the news just as the public will be, and to re-create before the public my reaction as I first felt it. In other words, it's more a carnal, physical style of communication than an analysis in words." According to the weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Gicquel, "carrying the burden of all the distress, loneliness and violence, grimaces painfully over all the international tensions and unemployment."

Whatever the source of his chagrin, Gicquel was soon out-Cronkiting Cronkite. The somber, chain-smoking Frenchman has brought an unprecedented measure of subtle and sometimes anti-government editorializing to French TV

news—to the chagrin of about 75 viewers each week who write him to protest. He delivers himself of stronger opinions off-camera. Last year he produced a serious book about the impact of TV on French society. Called *Violence and Fear*, it has become a bestseller.

Gicquel's heavy-lidded, slightly pained visage regularly decorates the pages of fan magazines. Social scientists grind out studies on the style and content of his week-nightly 8 p.m. newscast. That program's popularity helps *T.F. 1* to outdraw its nearest competitor by 2 to 1 in

years shuttling back and forth to Africa and points east. Eventually he became a minor suburban correspondent for the right-wing daily *Parisien Libéré*, and was holding down an administrative job at a Paris radio station when *T.F. 1* found him.

Unlike Cronkite, Gicquel writes all his own copy for the newscast. He has come out against the French death penalty, made disapproving remarks about the Shah of Iran's reliance on political repression, and criticized the government for not trying harder to rescue a French archaeologist held prisoner by guerrillas in Chad for 33 months. After he twitted a Marseille insurance company for firing a woman who came to work in Bermuda shorts, the firm sued him (the case is still unsettled). The day after he commanded viewers to lower the temperatures in their



French television's Roger Gicquel expounding in his office

A defense of Bermuda shorts from the "Christ of the 8 o'clock news."

the ratings, and at \$50,000 a year Gicquel has become probably the nation's highest-paid journalist. French radio has given him a regular morning commentary, in which he examines "social problems that pass unperceived in society" (sample topic: latent resentment of computers). One leftist daily has pronounced Gicquel a more important public figure than Giscard. Premier Raymond Barre or Socialist Party Leader François Mitterrand. With tongue in cheek, *Le Nouvel Observateur* describes Gicquel as "the Christ of the 8 o'clock news."

The man who would be Walter was born 45 years ago in a Paris suburb, grew up in backwater Brittany, and returned to the capital to seek his fortune as an actor. He never found it. "I was not aggressive enough," he concludes. Married and a father at 19, he left the stage for a steady paycheck as a steward for a small French airline and spent the next six

homes to save energy, French utilities reported dramatic reductions in gas and electricity consumption.

In his willingness to step over the line that separates fact from opinion on tightly controlled French TV, which only last week began allowing critics of government policy to reply on the air to ministerial pronouncements, Gicquel strays widely from the American anchorman's practice of reading the news inoffensively and letting someone else do the commenting. He has not lost his reverence for the master, however. "Cronkite was a myth for us," Gicquel explains. "People spoke about his personality and the fact that he had the unanimous support of Americans. I was intoxicated by him." Indeed, shortly before he joined *T.F. 1*, Gicquel made a pilgrimage to New York to see Cronkite in action. *Hélas*, he did not get much more than a handshake. Recalls Gicquel wistfully, "Walter was very busy." ■



## Kid Vid News

*Son of 60 Minutes hits CBS*

After undermining the taste, intelligence and dental hygiene of American children every Saturday morning for a generation, commercial television may have discovered a way to make amends: news for kids. In recent years the networks have been experimenting with various brief news updates and didactic entertainment specials for younger viewers.\* But so far, TV has produced nothing for children quite so grown up as CBS's newborn *30 Minutes*.

As the name implies, the show is a junior version of the network's hard-punching weekly magazine-format program, *60 Minutes*. It stars a couple of full-fledged CBS News correspon-

dents, Betsy Aaron, 39, and Christopher Glenn, 40, who comb the country in search of stories that might interest teenagers and preteens—just as Dan Rather, Morley Safer and Mike Wallace do for adults. With slightly less success—at least from the looks of last Saturday's first *30 Minutes*, which included rather pedestrian film reports on acne treatment and the plight of a justifiably obscure rock band trying to bust onto the charts. Things may pick up a bit, though. The next sched-

uled offering, for example, includes a harrowing look at juvenile offenders trying to survive in an adult maximum-security prison and a zany profile of the mostly middle-aged men who put out *Mad* magazine. Future subjects sound promising too: football injuries, school censorship of dirty words, teen-age pregnancy, cheerleading, how rock concerts damage eardrums.

Each *30 Minutes* has two such reports, plus a few minutes of legal advice from a children's rights lawyer on such topics as whether the principal can search your locker without your permission (yes) and how to return a defective product (fast). "We don't approach these stories any differently than if we were shooting them for the *Evening News*," says Correspondent Aaron. Adds Glenn: "There never has been anything [on TV] that says, 'We're taking stories that are of interest to your age group and giving them a journalism job.'" CBS is not helping that job much by burying *30 Minutes* in the suicidal 1:30 p.m. (E.D.T.) Saturday time slot opposite the N.C.A.A. game of the week. But then, growing up never was supposed to be easy, for children or networks. ■



CBS Correspondents Glenn and Aaron on the *30 Minutes* set

*Does rock make you deaf? Can the principal search your locker?*

\*Among them: ABC's *After School Specials*, hour-long dramatizations of situations such as a family death; CBS's weekend *In the News*, 2½-minute summaries of hard news and soft features; *Razzmatazz*, CBS's sporadic profiles of young people who lead interesting lives (discontinued this year but scheduled to reappear next season); and NBC's *Special Treat*, a monthly, one-hour inquiry into such topics as shiplifting, losing a pet, and being snowbound.



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Ali landing a solid right hand to Spinks' head in the seventh round as he confidently builds up a commanding lead

## Sport

### Young Once Again at 36

*Ali defeats Spinks and regains his heavyweight title*

It was not a great fight, this second meeting of Muhammad Ali and Leon Spinks, but it was a remarkable fight nonetheless, a dramatic revelation of the changed hearts of two men played out over 15 rounds in New Orleans' Superdome. Muhammad Ali's fight was a statement of will and pride, redemption for the humiliation of losing his title to Spinks and reassertion of his uniqueness as an athlete. Leon Spinks' fight was a cry of confusion, a constrained attempt to retain a title he had not known how to wear outside the ring. When it was over, Muhammad Ali had added another achievement to a long and extraordinary career: at 36, nearly a quarter of a century since he started to fight as an amateur, Ali became the first man to capture the heavyweight championship three times.

From the opening seconds of the first round, it was clear that only the names were the same in the Ali-Spinks rematch. Both men were starkly different than they had been six months ago, when Spinks had pummeled Ali and stripped him of his crown. Then Ali was overweight and underrained Spinks had been a fury, lashing blows with desperate abandon. With an intensity that was touching, he fought to claim the right to an existence, not just a title. He wanted to be *somebody*. The outcome left both men with terrible challenges.

For Ali, there was the prospect of ending his career as a defeated fighter, no

longer the champion he had dreamed of being since he was twelve. And there was the challenge of bringing his body back into condition to fight—really fight, not rope-a-dope—a powerful champion eleven years his junior. Leon Spinks, on the other hand, was overwhelmed by the new status he had so frantically sought. The privations of a ghetto background had suddenly been replaced by \$3.75 million purses. The gap-toothed young street fighter was, overnight, the biggest man in sports. There were cars, women and arrests for driving without a license or headlights or a proper sense of direction on one-way streets.

While a deadly determined Ali holed up for intensive training, Spinks caroused and skipped workouts, counting on the strength of youth to carry him through. Ali relied instead on conditioning and the canniness of age, all the skills learned in 58 professional fights. He stepped into the New Orleans ring with a look of fierce concentration unseen since his third and final bout with Joe Frazier.

Spinks, defending the title in only his ninth professional fight, was obviously ill equipped to run Ali to ground. The former champion's talent may have dimmed, but he was still a superbly conditioned athlete. Six months ago Ali could not escape Spinks and had folded his hands over his face, leaned on the ropes and allowed Spinks to bash away. Now Ali backpedaled on resilient legs and, more im-

portant, he used his hands. The famous Ali jab lacked the sting of old, but it held Spinks at bay. Each time the boxers closed on one another, Ali threw short, tightly paced combinations into the younger man's face. Once, Spinks had swarmed over Ali with furious flurries; this night, Ali beat him to the punch. By the fifth round (which Ali won on points but lost when the referee penalized him for holding), he was in control of the fight. The only question was the most basic: How long could he last? For Ali, the answer was 15 masterful rounds.

After the eleventh round, Ali took stock. "Am I winning?" he asked his seconds. Back came the reply: "You're way ahead." And Trainer Angelo Dundee added, "Just sock him—sock him!" In Spinks' corner, one of his handlers frantically urged: "You've got to fight *your* fight. You're fighting his fight now!"

That, of course, had been Ali's strategy all along. When the fight had ended, Spinks simply and articulately summed up the reasons for the loss of a crown after just 212 days: "Maybe my heart wasn't in it because there are a lot of things on my mind, problems the heavyweight championship brought me that I didn't know how to deal with. But who knows? I don't know myself."

Ali exulted in a victory that was as multidimensional as himself: over Leon Spinks, over encroaching age, over his need to leave an enduring mark on his sport—three times a champion in 14 years. The new champ laughed with reporters in post-fight interviews: "What do you think of this old man?" he asked. Quite an old man indeed. ■

# How Boston's Mighty Have Fallen

*That juicy 14-game Red Sox lead browned out*

The crash was all the more humiliating, after the dizzying descent, because it came before their adoring fans, who came to cheer and stayed to boo. In Fenway Park, their beloved tiny gem of a stadium, the Boston Red Sox did the unthinkable: they lost four straight to the New York Yankees, their hated rivals, whiffing the breeze with their bats and booting grounders like soccer players. The tragedy had been unfolding for weeks, painfully, inexorably, the most fascinating horror story of the major leagues this year. The Red Sox had a 14-game lead over the Yankees just two months ago, and not since the Boston Braves of 1914 overtook the New York Giants had such a lead so late in the season been blown. The Red Sox had led the division from late May until last week, but as Yankee Star Reggie Jackson said, "It's where you are when the leaves turn brown, not when they are green." The browning of America has begun, and the end is a short two-week pennant race away.

Boston deserves better, and could, of course still get it. The city is an old-fashioned baseball town, of the ilk of St. Louis, of old Brooklyn. The love affair is fostered by eccentric Fenway Park. The seats so embrace the field that the fans literally feel the joy and agony of each play. The fans come in all shapes and classes. They talk about the same plays on assembly lines, in shipyards, at academic meetings, during black-tie dinners on Beacon Hill, and at the stately clubs. Yale President A. Bartlett Giamatti wears a Sox cap. Humberto Cardinal Medeiros asked how they were doing just before the papal conclave. Senator Edward Kennedy upon his return from Moscow discussed with House Speaker Tip O'Neill the Yankees' four-

game "Boston Massacre," an event that the Boston *Globe's* Washington bureau chief, Martin Nolan, called a "tracheotomy of the soul." Explains an M.I.T. psychology professor: "We are of Boston, and the Red Sox are our champions."

But not, alas, champions of much else. The last World Series they won was in 1918. They have won the pennant three times since World War II, only to lose the Series in seven games and been runners-up five times.

This year the stumbling started at the All-Star break, when the Red Sox were 57-26. In a decline fueled by injuries, they since then have played below .500 ball. In early July, Shortstop Rick Burleson hurt his ankle and missed 18 games, twelve of which the team lost. The Sox doyen, Carl Yastrzemski, injured his nagging back, then his shoulder, then his wrist. Pepper-Pot Second Baseman Jerry Remy fractured his wrist last month, and is still playing with it taped. Dwight Evans was hit by a pitch and gets dizzy chasing fly balls. Add to that Catcher Carlton Fisk's broken rib, First Baseman George Scott's battered right middle finger, Third Baseman Butch Hobson's injured elbow and Centerfielder Fred Lynn's pulled stomach muscle, and you get a team that might be better off playing softball for Massachusetts General Hospital. Only this season's sensation, Jim Rice, has remained healthy.

By contrast these are halcyon days for the Yankees, as their walking wounded of early summer are hale again. "It's not raining," declared Reggie Jackson as he stuck his head out into the mist before a game in Detroit earlier this month. Raising his arms above his head, he shouted, "The Bronx Bombers are in town!"

They have been going to town since



**Disconsolate Boston Manager Don Zimmer**

*The boys of summer stumbled and fell*

mid-July, when Bob Lemon took over as manager for the outspoken Billy Martin. Says the modest Lemon: "I was just fortunate enough to come in at a time when all the injured players were returning. I'm not a loud person. The more outgoing you are as a manager, the more players tend to have one eye on you and one eye on the game."

But Lemon deserves more credit than that for the Yankees' success, which is partly caused by the contrast between his calm and collected personality and that of the fiery man he replaced. Says Shortstop Dent: "He's come in, settled us down and got us playing baseball again." Most important, he has been able to handle and encourage the volatile Jackson. Says the slugger: "He's built my confidence up. I'm a believer. I'd like to see him here for as long as I am." And for the first time since Martin quit, the outspoken outfielder unloaded his feelings about his former manager to TIME's Paul A. Wittman: "It was miserable to be around him. Billy held a meeting and said that anyone who disagreed with him should stand up and I'll kick the shit out of them. I don't need that crap. The guy hated me so much I couldn't play."

Martin, watching from afar, is reported to have said: "The New York newspaper strike has made the difference. There aren't any reporters about stirring up garbage and writing about what one player says or another." Perhaps Red Sox hopes lie in the fact that a newspaper strike is being threatened in Boston. If the Boston sportswriters actually thought it would help their beloved Sox, they might gladly go on strike. They know, like the rest of Boston, that Yogi Berra was right when he said: It ain't over (til it's over).



**In the rout of Boston, Yankee Slugger Reggie Jackson is welcomed at home by teammates**

*"It's where you are when the leaves turn brown, not when they are green."*



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## The Little Magazine That Could

THE "POETRY" ANTHOLOGY: 1912-1977

Edited by Daryl Hine and Joseph Parisi

Houghton Mifflin, 555 pages; \$20 hard-cover, \$10.95 paperback



Editor Harriet Monroe

In 1912 a middle-aged woman named Harriet Monroe persuaded 100 fellow Chicagoans to contribute \$50 apiece for five years running. Why? To underwrite a monthly magazine that would publish the best new poetry. As an investment, the project had its drawbacks. First, no one had ever gone broke underestimating America's hunger for good verse. Second, even if acceptable, bill-paying poetry was available, Harriet Monroe seemed singularly ill-equipped to find it. Her own best efforts in the field amounted to little but boosterism: "Hail to thee, fair Chicago! On thy brow, America, thy mother, lays a crown..."

Nevertheless, this Windy City bard founded *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*. Within three years she printed an odd-looking work that opened with six lines of Italian and then proceeded: "Let us go then, you and I/ When the evening is spread out against the sky/ Like a patient etherized upon a table..." Nothing quite like T.S. Eliot's "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" had ever appeared before. The expatriate gentleman from St. Louis and the lady from Chicago put each other on the map.

Stranger things than *Poetry* have happened in publishing, but not many. The magazine never thrived, but it survived.



T.S. Eliot in England



Wallace Stevens in Hartford

*Yielded up in a batch of envelopes.*

outlasting decades of precarious financing, attempted coups by competing schools of poets and unvarying public indifference. Its monthly circulation rarely topped 9,000 copies, but the journal's reach vastly exceeded its grasp. Whether or not they always read *Poetry*, nearly every American poet who mattered in this century submitted manuscripts to it.

Pressing 65 years' worth of such contributions between the covers of a single anthology ought to produce something like essence of attar. It does not, as former *Poetry* Editor Daryl Hine admits in his introduction: "Much of what has appeared in *Poetry*, early and late, is mediocre, and seems more so today." Aside from "Prufrock," the magazine published only one other great poem: Wallace Stevens' "Sunday Morning," which survived

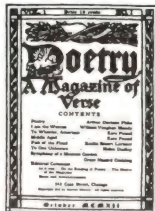


Marianne Moore in New York

even Harriet Monroe's rather highhanded editing and rearranging of its stanzas. But the value of *The "Poetry" Anthology* does not rest on its Parnassian heights. Flipping through its pages is like watching time-lapse photography of American literary taste.

Ezra Pound was one of the magazine's first contributors. Within a few years (and a few pages) a lot of poets are sounding like Pound. The muse seems hardly to notice World War I; the next conflagration receives extended attention from writers as diverse as Randall Jarrell, Karl Shapiro and Robinson Jeffers. Teacher-poets appear in the '30s and '40s: R.P. Blackmur, William Empson, Allen Tate. A generation later is heard the dry academic rustle of those they taught.

Harriet Monroe's decision simply to print poems she thought were good created a magazine filled with contrasting voices. She published the tub thumping of Carl Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay and the treacle of Edna St. Vincent Millay. She also discovered or encouraged unknowns whose ultimate reputations few could have guessed: Stevens, William Carlos Williams, Marianne Moore. She gave space to Robert Frost long before he became the panjandrum of U.S. poetry. By and large, successive editors followed Monroe's lead and kept their tastes as catholic as possible, although Henry Rago, who served from 1955 to 1969, managed to ignore the Beat Generation poets. Those who comb this anthology for Allen Ginsberg will thus be disappointed. But the book offers the pleasure of seeing plenty of other familiar faces, as if for



Cover of *Poetry* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1912

A time-lapse photo of literary taste.

the first time. Ave, Lowell! Hi there, Berryman! Welcome aboard, Ashbery!

The continuity of American poetry has depended on a succession of such faces and places where they can appear. In the May-fly world of little magazines, a run of ten years is considered an epoch. *Poetry's* longevity is epic. Readers of this anthology can be depressed that more of *Poetry's* poems were not deathless. They can also be grateful to the magazine that let them live.

— Paul Gray

The "Poetry" Anthology 1912-1977 is not the epitaph that its hyphenated years suggest. Harriet Monroe's monthly still exists with its same old problems and a new editor. John Frederick Nims, 64, took the post in January. A poet, translator and the compiler of *Western Wind*, a witty and informative anthology for students, Nims runs his shop with a puckish sense of humor that he and it sorely need. "I took this job because I thought it would be fun," he says. He still professes to think so, despite a \$20,000 deficit, increasing postal and printing costs, a circulation that has dwindled from 9,000 in the late '60s to 6,800 now, and a rising tide of manuscripts that last year exceeded 60,000. After the recent Labor Day weekend, Nims and his staff of three returned to the aging Chicago apartment house where *Poetry* lives and found a stack of mailed-in poems 18 inches thick.

Sorting through such piles is tedious business, but someone has to do it. From them come the 200 or so pieces that the magazine runs each year. Similarly unpromising batches of envelopes once yielded up Wallace Stevens, after all, and Nims keeps a special watch for the work of new or unknown writers. He admits to a double standard that reverses the one usually found in publishing: "We're demanding of established poets but fairly indulgent with the young."

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## Books

He also notes that the magazine's hand-to-mouth existence stems from an anomaly: "We have more would-be writers than readers." Nims echoes other poetry editors in suggesting that a larger audience than the one being tapped must exist somewhere. He wonders in jest whether the techniques employed in computer dating might be used to prove him right: "There are always people who want to get married; the problem is getting them together." Poetry lovers, however, have never been numerous or of the marrying kind. They have kept the old girl going with monthly allowances, but denied her an annuity.

## Full Flaps

A HOSTAGE TO FORTUNE

by Ernest K. Gann

Knopf, 544 pages; \$12.95

**C**ancel all reservations for airline flights; select a reliable four-engine armchair and take off. "The *Grenlin's Castle* was trembling in an incipient stall. . . . Almost directly ahead stood the Taj Mahal. . . . We were obviously going to knock it down. . . . Desperate in the seconds remaining, I made a wild decision. I doubted if anyone had ever tried it in a C-87. . . . 'Hogarty!' I yelled. 'Give me full flaps!'"

Readers of *Fate Is the Hunter*, Ernest K. Gann's unnerving account of his days as an airline and Air Transport Command pilot, will recognize the flying style. What is surprising about this rambunctious autobiography, however, is that although Gann tells a number of good wing-and-prayer yarns, some of his most surprising adventures have had nothing to do with aviation. He has been a newsreel



Ernest Gann suited up for flying

*A wing, a prayer and the Taj Mahal.*

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Just a dash. Off to the West Indies for Tabasco peppers, marinated in Spanish wine sherry. England is next, for a few twists of coastal Malden salt. Then to France, for a garnish of Perigordine truffle shavings. Last stop, India, for a few strands of saffron.

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cameraman, soldier, Broadway actor, polo player, farmer, cartoonist, commercial fisherman, deepwater yachtsman, Hollywood talent scout and, of course, a bestselling novelist (*The High and the Mighty*, *Band of Brothers*). He wrote, directed and sold a movie while still in high school, talked his way into the Yale Drama School without bothering with the usual formality of attending college, worked for a while as an assistant to Leon Leonidoff, the Radio City impresario, and filmed screen tests for Warner Bros., all before he thought of learning to fly.

His versatility included, as he admits, a powerful talent for getting fired, and for maneuvering himself into situations where honor and restlessness demanded that he resign. He was also good at spending money. The result was that his career continued to take peculiar turns—the commercial fishing venture, for instance—well after he had achieved what for another man would have been professional security as a flyer and writer.

Gann would be the perfect subject for a memoir if gentlemanly reserve did not glaze over his confessions when he describes the people he has known. He gives a vivid account of how it was to see the dome of the Taj Mahal from several feet away, but is woefully reticent, for instance, when he encounters another monument, Actor John Wayne. Chapters given to his divorce and remarriage show little more than the rough shape of a life. Only when Gann describes the drowning of his oldest son, who was chief mate on an unseaworthy tanker, does uncalculated emotion break through.

Yet in the end the autobiography has done its job, and the reader has seen a man intelligent and self-absorbed, better at action than ideas, somewhat rueful and, by his own testimony, a reasonably decent fellow. The inclination is to accept the judgment.

—John Skow

## Chivalry Is Dead

ARTHUR REX:

A LEGENDARY NOVEL

by Thomas Berger

Delacorte; 499 pages; \$10.95

The legends of King Arthur are a natural subject for novelists. T.H. White produced an eloquent contemporary version in *The Once and Future King*, and only two years ago, the late John Steinbeck's dull but competent retelling of *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Sir Thomas Malory's 15th century compilation, was published. Now Thomas Berger offers still another *rex* redux, in the form of "a legendary novel." He might have done better to call it a haphazard parody.

In his earlier novels, Berger proved himself a fine minor portraitist of the hapless, tough-talking American male: the middle-class, victimized hero of the Reinhardt trilogy, the used-car salesmen and





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## Books



Illustration for Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*  
*Lusty knights, swayed damsels.*

small-time gangsters in *Sneaky People*. Little *Big Man*, his burlesque epic of the wild West, and *Who Is Teddy Villanova?*, a brilliant imitation of the private-eye novel, displayed a notable talent for satire.

*Arthur Rex* features hard-boiled knights in a pseudo-Arthurian landscape, and the clash of styles has the discordant ring of crossed lances at a joust. His heroes talk obsessively of "paps" and "mam-mets" (not, as Berger supposes, a variant of mammaries, but a medieval reference to Muhammad). The labored effort to reproduce Malory's diction is a disaster. Horses are "sore thirsty," kings are "some vexed," lusty knights "swyve" damsels, addressed elsewhere as "chicks." Launcelot is said to have "filled a need for the queen," a disheartening summation of one of the world's most fabled love affairs.

Berger's borrowings from *Le Morte d'Arthur* are eccentric. At times, he hovers close to the celebrated tale of King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table, chronicling their legendary exploits, the magical interventions of Merlin and the quest for the Holy Grail. But his treatment of the romances between Tristram and Isold, Launcelot and Guinevere reads like a medieval version of *Couples*. Querulous and self-absorbed, the lovers are made to suffer the mutual incomprehension of male chauvinists and radical feminists. "Being a woman," the author says of Guinevere, "she could not understand honor and justice, for they were invented by men." The code of chivalry is resurrected in the form of propaganda. Berger is given to writing didactic speeches, and his digressions about good and evil, appropriate for the allegorical literature of

the Middle Ages, seem tedious in a contemporary novel.

Still, the tales of Camelot are dramatic no matter who tells them. The somber denouement, in which the mortally wounded Arthur restores his invincible sword to the mysterious Lady of the Lake, possesses a grandeur undiminished by familiarity. Aware of the story's inherent drama, Berger eventually abandons farce in favor of a simple, unadorned narrative. "All men of that time lived and died by legend," he notes with uncharacteristic fervor, and his homage to those legends is a relief after the showy wit that dominates so many chapters.

—James Atlas

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** *A Good School*, Richard Yates • *Final Payments*, Mary Gordon • *Innocent Eréndira* and *Other Stories*, Gabriel García Márquez • *Shosha*, Isaac Bashevis Singer • *The Execution of Mayor Yin*, Chen Jo-hsi • *The World According to Garp*, John Irving

**NONFICTION:** *A Distant Mirror*, Barbara W. Tuchman • *American Caesar*, William Manchester • *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie • *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. • *The Gulag Archipelago III*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn • *The Illusion of Technique*, William Barrett • *The Snow Leopard*, Peter Matthiessen

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

1. *Chesapeake, Michener* (1 last week)
2. *Scraples, Krantz* (2)
3. *Eye of the Needle, Follett* (3)
4. *Evergreen, Plain* (4)
5. *Bloodline, Sheldon* (5)
6. *The World According to Garp, Irving* (6)
7. *Mortal Friends, Carroll*
8. *Fools Die, Puzo*
9. *The Holcroft Covenant, Ludlum* (9)
10. *The Last Convertible, Myer* (8)

### NONFICTION

1. *If Life Is a Bowl of Cherries—What Am I Doing in the Pits?*, Bombeck (1)
2. *In Search of History, White* (4)
3. *A Time for Truth, Simon* (2)
4. *The Complete Book of Running, Fitzx* (3)
5. *Pulling Your Own Strings, Dyer* (5)
6. *My Mother / My Self, Friday* (6)
7. *Robert Kennedy and His Times, Schlesinger* (7)
8. *Till Death Us Do Part, Bugliosi with Hurwitz* (9)
9. *Gnomes, Huxgen & Poorvliet* (10)
10. *The Only Investment Guide You'll Ever Need, Tobias*

TIME, SEPTEMBER 25, 1978

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